

senses. There is, then, an internal and highly emotional unity achieved without the use of Renaissance symmetry. It is in this respect that the art of the Baroque represents what can be considered a classical impulse, an impulse which renders the Baroque more accessible to the general public in that it is directed at producing an emotional response instead of one that is intellectual.

As such the art of the Baroque shows itself to be a valuable instrument of Catholicism in the early years of the seventeenth century. The Copernican system of astronomy had, it can be argued, dealt a fatal blow to the medieval world-view. Catholicism no longer, to a great many, provided a satisfactory explanation of man's position in the world. The Reformation was, in fact, the result of the disintegration of the medieval conception of the universe; when that disintegration occurred man became fully aware of his individual identity. In the Ptolemaic world the characteristics of the individual elements of a whole are determined by a pre-conceived notion of what the whole should be. In the Copernican world it is the characteristics of the individual elements that determine the characteristics of the whole. The former clearly depicts the Renaissance world-view, the latter that of the Baroque.

It is not surprising, then, that the Reformation should have occurred when it did. Nor is it surprising that the art of the Baroque should become one of the principal instruments utilized by the Catholic church in its fight against Protestantism. In order to resolve this apparent paradox it is necessary to examine for a

moment the position of the Catholic church during the early years of the seventeenth century.

Within thirty years of the disbanding of the Council of Trent, the papacy in Rome gathered together a group of artists whose task it became to make Rome into the most beautiful city in the Christian world "for the greater glory of God and the Church". The Catholic church knew only too well the danger with which it was threatened by the subjectivism of the Reformation spirit. In its fight against that subjectivism the Catholic church attempted to reestablish what can only be considered as a medieval world-view. It is as though the Catholic church were attempting to deny the findings of Copernicus and thereby position itself as an organizing universal principle. In so doing the Catholic church fixed and schematized the iconography of Catholicism. The Annunciation, the Birth of Christ, the Ascension and other standard Biblical scenes assumed at that time a form which still holds good today as the standard model for the devotional image. This, in part, explains why Caravaggio was not a popular success at that time. His unconventional form of representation was considered to be inappropriate and dangerously subjective. The Church required that works of art serve didactic purposes, that is, to persuade, to overwhelm and to propagate the faith but in so doing it was to use an elevated language so as to disseminate and not necessarily deepen the faith. No art is more suited to the goals of the papacy than the art of the Baroque. It is, unlike Mannerism, sensual, emotional, and universally comprehensible.

These subjective qualities were, however, carefully controlled by clearly defined criteria established by the papacy. The Catholic church had, in effect, reaffirmed its position and at the same time adapted itself to the historical reality as far as possible. In other words, Catholicism reconciled subjective factors that were threatening its very existence by utilizing a type of subjectivism as a means of disseminating the faith. In so doing the Catholic church recovered its sense of security in the modern world. A period of the richest, most luxurious and extravagant art production then began in Rome, all of which celebrated the reaffirmation of Catholicism.

By mid-century, however, the influence of the curia began to decline and the center of world art shifted from Italy to France where the most progressive political structure of the age was to be found, absolute monarchy. Baroque art in France, as will be demonstrated, like its Italian counterpart, was similarly subjected to sanctions imposed from without. The comparatively liberal attitudes of Louis XIII, Richelieu and Mazarin allowed Baroque subjectivism to develop without any external limitations being imposed thereon. This was not the case, however, when Louis XIV assumed personal rule in 1660. The Italian Baroque, it will be recalled, was the vehicle of an ambitious papacy concerned with the dissemination of the faith. The French Baroque similarly was utilized as a vehicle for the dissemination of a particular belief--the glorification of Louis XIV as the personal representative of God on earth.

In the France of Louis XIV the general type in art prevails rather than the particular artistic personality. Individual works of art lose their autonomy and amalgamate into a total ensemble, all of which is directed at the glorification of the king. Art and all of life in France is controlled and regulated from outside. Subjectivity is tabooed since the desire is to see everywhere in art the picture of an arbitrarily constructed and forcibly conserved world instead of reality itself. Form enjoys a precedence over content and all this eventually leads to the complete belittling of individuality, personal style and initiative. This is an exact restatement of the predicament of the Baroque in Italy. In both instances, an external agent imposed sanctions to limit subjectivity. In both instances subjectivism continually combatted absolutism. This dilemma ^{would} permeate every aspect of French life and art until the end of the eighteenth century when subjectivity would eventually be triumphant. At that time it would be fully realized that an essentially inauthentic principle of unity could not be imposed from without ^{and art} upon a post-Ptolemaic world. Such would be the final impact of the Baroque aesthetic.

You spread yourself too thin. I am intrigued by your ideas on the Copernican system, although can one be sure that such a change in attitude was fully realized by those in power? That is were the patrons of the 17th & 18th C. Baroque conscious of applying Copernican principles, or is their attitude only similar & not necessarily dependant upon Copernicus? I liked your essay, although you tend to try too much. If you had stayed within

limits of the
 the question posed, 'What is the nature
 of the Italian or French Baroque?' I think
 your paper would have been tighter. I'm by
 no means knocking your originality, but
 for a 4-page paper you have attempted too
 much. Also references to works of art are
 important, although description is not necessary.
 B+/A-

1126

S. Robert Powell
Summer 1968

S. Robert Powell
Summer 1968

"Drawing is the first of the virtues, for a painter, it is the foundation, it is everything."--Ingres

The study of nineteenth century French literature, art and music is, for the most part, the study of romanticism; yet romanticism is by no means a homogenous phenomenon in the creative arts. Victor Hugo fully realized that fact when he remarked in his Préface de Cromwell that the creative arts of the new century would not be judged according to the old rules but only by the special laws of individual temperaments. The extreme diversity in nineteenth century French art is perhaps nowhere more apparent than in the canvases of Ingres and those of his contemporaries, particularly Delacroix. The differences between the creative productions of those two artists are identical, for the most part, to those which, in the seventeenth century, resulted in the formation of two warring factions within the Academy over the issue of drawing versus color: the conservatives (Poussinistes) against the Rubénistes. The conservatives defended Poussin's view that drawing, which appealed to the mind, was superior to color, which appealed to the senses; the Rubénistes advocated color, rather than drawing, as being more true to nature. Ingres, in many respects, represents a continuation of the tradition of Poussin. This is best demonstrated by examining a group of paintings and drawings executed by Ingres at different moments of his artistic career.

One of the most remarkable demonstrations of Ingres' use of drawing can be seen in the portrait of Madame Rivière, exhibited in the Salon of 1806. Madame Rivière is a masterpiece of linear

design. The painting, in fact, is permeated throughout by linear patterns, most noticeably in the folds of the somewhat diaphanous scarf and the drapery-like shawl which covers her right arm. The principal linear pattern or flow in the painting is vertical. It begins at the bottom of the canvas and flows in a rather graceful curve along the right arm and up to the shoulders where it ultimately merges with the more stable horizontal linear pattern defined by the left arm and the scarf. It is, in fact, these two principal linear patterns which stabilize the oval form of the painting. The effect is not unlike that achieved by Raphael in the Alba Madonna painted about 1510 which has been considered the perfect expression of Renaissance art theory. In that painting harmony and balance of design are found in Raphael's ability to stabilize the circular form of the painting with the triangular arrangement of the figures and the strong horizontal line behind them, composed of the river and trees. It is perhaps significant that Ingres has achieved a similar stability by the use of only one figure, and without the use of a river and trees to arrive at harmony and balance. He has done so by using a rather complicated linear pattern in which it is possible to observe each line as a separate entity and, at the same time, as part of an overall pattern. Each line, as it flows on, merges or divides along its course to flow into or serve as origin for others. The lines established by Ingres in this painting have, in fact, a beauty of their own as abstract rhythmic patterns. This may in part explain why Ingres violated, consciously or not, the classical dogma of accurate or idealized proportion. Were Madame Rivière to stand, her arms hanging at her sides would be of grotesquely different lengths--the right one elongated, the left shortened. Yet these distortions are necessary if the canvas is to succeed when the woman

is seated. It is as though Madame Rivière were reduced to a minor role in the representation or used primarily as a vehicle for a demonstration of a particular linear pattern within a given shape, that is, the oval form. It is then of no great significance that the human form is distorted. The idealized proportion of human form must be violated if the linear patterns are to succeed in this particular representation. It is for that reason that the painting is a success.

A similar use of line and drawing is seen in the Bather of Valpinçon, where, as in the portrait of Madame Rivière, line is the picture. Line, however, is not used in the intricate patterns that are present in Madame Rivière. The nude bather is represented by means of a small number of subtle and almost eventless contours and lines. The simplicity of the representation of the human figure is very much in contrast with the knotted-looking cloth on the bather's left arm as well as in the turban which she wears. The simplicity of the representation of the body is taken up again in the contours of the drapery at the left, which, like the human figure, is sharply defined. A similar treatment of the human figure and of drapery is seen in Stratonice (1866). However, unlike the portrait of Madame Rivière and the Bather of Valpinçon, Stratonice is based on a literary motif which gives the painting a somewhat mawkish and absurd quality. Nevertheless, Stratonice is a success since we need know nothing of the Greek princess' passion and subsequent divorce in order to enjoy the representation. The literary motif constitutes merely the occasion for and not the content of the picture. What is painted by Ingres is quite unimportant. The only question is how it is painted. Stratonice is a masterpiece

(of linear design. The very elaborate and somewhat cluttered Greek

I would ask you if the Bather of Valpinçon is only painted by drawing, or if color is also important?

interior is rendered with a precision approaching that of photography. Every detail is clearly and precisely drawn; every possible fold in the draperies is carefully rendered. In fact, the precision of the representation of the human figure at right gives her an almost frozen quality. She appears no more capable of movement than the Greek statue seen in the background. The woman at the right of the painting and the statue in the background both, however, provide the artist with a means of demonstrating his virtuosity in the use of line and linear patterns. One even has the impression that Ingres might have assembled as many Greek accessory details in the painting as possible in order to demonstrate his abilities in using linear patterns. In so doing, the woman at the right becomes only one of many naturalistic details in a Greek interior. She is rather unimportant. The manner in which she is represented is very significant and it is that which is Ingres' primary concern. She is, in short, a vehicle for the representation of numerous and varied linear patterns.

Another remarkable example of Ingres' use of line is the portrait of Francois Marius Granet. In this representation of Ingres' friend, the head appears at the top of a generally triangular mass formed by the trunk region. The importance of the head is further heightened by the architectural landscape (Villa Medici) which, because of its small scale, emphasizes the importance of the human figure. In addition, the face is framed by the white collar and the dark hair. All of these devices were used by painters of portraits of the Renaissance and became conventional after that time. Yet Ingres' Granet is remarkable. This is true, in part, because of the linear patterns established by Ingres. They are patterns which combine the sinuosities of the edges of the open cape and its thrown-back collar

with the contrasting solidity of its general silhouette. In addition, the rectangular book, the wall, the buildings in the background, and the irregular shaped collar are drawn in linear arabesques that have their own abstract beauty.

good
Ingres' use of line is best seen in his pencil drawings done in preparation for portraits. The drawings done in preparation for the Comte Turpin de Crissé are a good example. In these drawings the head is typically modeled in more detail than the figure, which is sketched in with absolute assurance but with only an occasional light indication of shadow to enhance the form which is otherwise entirely revealed by line. In fact, Ingres' skillful use of line almost precludes the need for color. This does not mean, however, that Ingres could not utilize color with skill. The Odalisque of 1814, for example, reveals an exquisite sense of color. It is more than a design tinted with color. It is an array of rich tones and colors which only serve to enhance the supporting linear substructure, which, it appears, was Ingres' primary concern. In much of his work Ingres subordinated painting to drawing or united them into a harmonious whole, yet one always has the feeling that the lines are there and that the color can in no way exceed pre-established linear patterns and structures. As such, Ingres shows himself to be very representative of a generation of artists and writers who could not deny the classical tradition but could not accept wholeheartedly the innovations of their contemporaries. We have seen how Ingres belongs to the classical tradition. To understand Ingres' use of nineteenth century artistic innovations (color, thematic romanticism etc.) is to understand his modernity. That, however, is beyond the scope of this paper.

Your analyzing individual works is good. Try to hard look at the Dream of Ossian to see if Ingres here defines forms by lines or if he has done something else.
A -

"In everyday life I was usually bored and vexed by the things that people were always telling me I must do . . . When I started to paint I felt transported into a kind of paradise."

Henri Matisse

1133

A BIBLIOGRAPHY COMPILED
FOR THE STUDY OF
THE INDEFINITE AND PARTITIVE ARTICLES

S. Robert Powell
F601
December 20, 1968

Serious, thought work.

*Your topic was the evolution of these articles;
the organization of Part II should have reflected
this historical interest. Works in Part II cited
in I could have been entered much more concisely.
(See further comments below)*

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This work on the indefinite
and partitive articles was
for the course on the history
of the French language.

“A thing derided is a
thing dead; a laughing
man is stronger than
a suffering man.”

Gustave Flaubert

The indefinite and partitive articles

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1. Ad une spede li roveret tolir lo chief

2. <u>Singular</u>	<u>masc.</u>	<u>fem.</u>
cas sujet	uns	une
cas régime	un	une

<u>Plural</u>		
Cas sujet	un	unes
Cas régime	uns	unes

3. Cuers qui gist en la viellege ne pense pas a la jonece ne au voloir de jone sage.

Uns chevaliers de Cornuaille le roi apele isnelement.

Seignor, oiez et escoutez un fablel.

4. S'annie volés avoir. . . .

Avés vous dont borse trovée?

5. Ne n'avez de mot mentit.

Talent n'ai d'ami avoir.

6. Il a unes botes qui ont trois ou quatre ans; et ont esté apareillees par bas tant que ce qui souloit estre aux genoulx est au milieu de la jambe. Il a uns esperons du temps au roy Oloutaire et une robe de parement qui a bien dix ans.

7. Est che nient uns a uns vers dras, roilles d'une vermeille roie? (N'est-ce pas un individu avec des vêtements verts rayés d'une raie vermeille?)

Et avoit unes grandes joes et un grandisme nes plat et unes grans narines lees et unes grosses levres plus rouges d'une carbounes et une grans dens gaunes et lais, et estoit caucies d'uns housiar et d'uns sallars de buef.

8. Li un sor les autres sommeillent, li autre parolent et veillent.

9. vitas pars--a part of life

magna pars hominum--a great part of mankind

10. edere panem--acc.

edere panis--gen.

edere de pane--de --ablative

11. Il acate mort pisson

S'acate bonne viande

Amistés porte ten seigneur de par mi

Quand les tables furent ostées dont furent paroles contées.

Or a ci duel et grant anguisse (Voici du chagrin et de l'anxiété)

12. Avoir pitié/ tirer profit etc.

Loup n'engendre pas brébis. Chien en vie vaut mieux que lion mort.

Diderot: "Et à quoi diable voulez-vous donc qu'on emploie son argent, si ce n'est à avoir bonne table, bons vins, belles femmes, plaisirs de toutes les couleurs, amusements de toutes les espèces."

La Fontaine: "Il avait vu sortir gibier de toute sorte."

Rabelais: "Les chaps fourrez sont bestes moult horribles."

13. E voit assez gent amasee qui a grant merveille l'esgardent.

Pors et bues avons assez.

Einz est bien droiz que il ait dames e chevaliers assez.

14. E voit gent amasee qui a grant merveille l'esgardent.

Pors et bues avons.

Einz est bien droiz que il ait dames e chevaliers.

15. Assez avra chascuns del suen.

Il verse en la cope d'argent del vin assez qui n'estoit pas troblez.

16. Chascun avra del suen

Il verse en la cope d'argent del vin qui n'estoit pas troblez.

17. Si me donnés de l'argent.

18. Ha! biaux dous filz, sées vous cois, ou vous arés des enviaus.

(Ah! beau dour filz! tenez-vous tranquille ou vous aïrez des enviaus)

19. De contredit n'i avra point. (Il n'y aura pas ombre d'opposition).

20. . . . et de bon vin fort à son gré.

Un bourgeois qui sot parler de mains langages. . .

21. Il eurent akaté des nouvelles viandes a metre en leur nes.

22. Vaugelas: "Il y a d'excellens hommes."

- A. des bas-reliefs, des belles-mères, des chauves-souris
- B. du petit lait, du bon sens, des jeunes gens, des petits pois
- C. de la pure folie, de la bonne foi, de la mauvaise humeur

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STRUCTURAL AND STYLISTIC MANIFESTATIONS
OF THE GOTHIC AESTHETIC IN LA VIE DE SAINTE MARGUERITE.
LA CONCEPTION NOTRE-DAME, AND LA VIE DE SAINT NICOLAS OF WACE

S. Robert Powell

April 21, 1969

A-
well executed paper
Mature style + perspective
We'll talk about it

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INTRODUCTION

The literature and art of an age are, by virtue of the similar political, social and religious factors that caused their creation, often closely related. In artistic movements such as Romanticism in the nineteenth century in France, the interrelationships and parallels among the creative arts are clearly seen. They are, however, more difficult to perceive in artistic movements in which the representative manifestations in each of the creative arts do not readily appear as reducible to the common denominator of a single style. Such were the artistic and literary movements in France from the second quarter of the twelfth century to the end of the thirteenth century. During that historical period every aspect of society underwent, in varying degrees, a radical change. It was a change which would reach its political conclusion in the great medieval synthesis of the twelfth century, the organic fusion of church and state, and its sociological climax in the re-emergence of a wholly urban culture which not only recognized, but also acknowledged the vital importance of the bourgeoisie as a constituent of that ^{social} societal order. Yet, before such a societal evolution would occur, art and literature would experience a series of evolutions which have been labeled by literary and art historians as follows: Romanesque architecture, late Romanesque architecture, Gothic art and architecture, courtly literature of the Middle Ages, bourgeois literature of the twelfth

12th
or
13th
sounds like
Jargon

century, the religious literature of the Middle Ages, and epic literature of the Middle Ages, to mention only a few. This traditional and fragmentary approach to the creative arts obscures, and, in many cases, denies the presence of similarities in style and structure among the creative arts of a particular age. Such is the case with the numerous vernacular adaptations of Latin lives of saints written in the twelfth century, particularly those of Wace, and the most significant architectural achievement of that age, the Gothic cathedral. Both of these achievements in the creative arts are phenomena of the twelfth century, in France, both clearly represent a desire to cast off the parochialism of a preceding age, both represent a synthetic impulse in the creative arts, and both were created, for the most part, by men who were fully aware of the dramatic societal evolution taking place around them in twelfth-century France. Yet these two manifestations in the creative arts, Gothic architecture and lives of saints in the vernacular, are traditionally considered to be separate and unrelated phenomena. It is the contention of this essay that they are not unrelated artistic movements.

This is a point which will need justification

In an attempt to demonstrate that they were, in fact, created with similar structural and stylistic techniques, the principles of art history are useful. This approach is underlined by Helmut Hatzfeld as "imperative in those cases where literary texts may contain structural and stylistic elements which would

perhaps remain obscure without the elucidation of the arts of design " 1 A precise understanding, then, of the structural and stylistic principles of that architecture described by art historians as Gothic is essential in order to understand the structural and stylistic techniques utilized by the authors of lives of saints in the twelfth century. Only through such an approach can a valid correlation of the fine arts in any historical period ~~can~~ be made. This study may show that the lives of saints composed in the twelfth century by Wace are constructed on the basis of aesthetic principles not unlike those utilized by architects during that same historical period.

TOWARD A DEFINITION OF THE GOTHIC IN ARCHITECTURE

Gothic architecture as a historical phenomenon has been clearly defined. It represents the artistic efforts of a vast group of artists and craftsmen in France during the period extending from the second quarter of the twelfth century to the end of the thirteenth century. Yet to consider Gothic architecture solely as a historical phenomenon is, in a sense, to deny its essence. Gothic architecture is, at the same time, an aesthetic phenomenon which, coinciding with the historical phenomenon of the Gothic in architecture, produced an eternal moment in art. In other words, the principal artists responsible for the creation of Gothic architecture utilized, in the creation of their art, the aesthetic of the Gothic style during the historical period that is generally considered by art historians as the age of the Gothic style in architecture. Absence of such correlation is called a mannerism. A writer such as Gide, for example, utilized what has been called the "classical" aesthetic in a historical period which is not generally considered by literary historians as being "the Age of Classicism." ² Gide, therefore, does not represent the phenomenon of classicism in French literature in its entirety since the historical and aesthetic phenomena of classicism do not coincide. As such, the "classicism" of Gide is not pure, that is, it does not represent the classicism of the seventeenth century since it has been colored by the historical difference.

If the creative arts are indeed an authentic representation of a particular society, then they must illustrate accurately and dynamically the society from which they emerge. They must, in other words, represent that society's world view. Given the fact that each historical period is characterized by primarily one world view, it is the task of the cultural historian to analyze that complex of societal attitudes and beliefs in order to better understand not only that society but also the creative arts which emerged from it. Much of the confusion that has resulted in writing the history of the creative arts is caused, it can be argued, by the erroneous belief that several totally distinct and unrelated bases for art can exist simultaneously. That is to say, given a particular historical period, it is erroneous to consider that period as being characterized by two or more wholly unrelated world views. The seventeenth century in France is a good example. Literary historians have chosen to refer to that period as "the Age of Classicism." Art historians, on the other hand, have chosen to consider that period as "the Age of French Baroque." The contradiction raised by these two apparently conflicting points of view only serves to make it more clear that one or both of these schools of thought is in error. Any period in history can be characterized by only one valid basis for artistic production; otherwise we are dealing with a mannerism, as is the case with Gide. Gide's so-called "classicism" is based on a world view that was representative of a past historical

Perhaps there can be only one "gist" which characterizes a given period, but there could be several styles and even manichean elements - which are called mannerism -

Such as L. S. Sphor
"high baroque" of
Racine? Or is there
not room for both in
that each refers to a
different aspect? I
would like to discuss

ical period. [It is, for that reason, static and conventional and not dynamic and "contemporary".]

Gothic architecture, on the other hand, represents an eternal moment in art in that both the aesthetic and historical phenomena of the Gothic coincide. Fundamental to the aesthetic of the Gothic in architecture is a tendency toward synthesis. This is directly related to the political and social situation in France at that time. Gothic architecture, as will be demonstrated, is an attempt to deal effectively with that society.

During the early years of the twelfth century the four principal elements of French society--the king and his court, the church, the feudal nobility and the bourgeoisie--were, for the most part, highly antagonistic toward each other. Arthur Kingsley Porter's account of the founding of the commune of Laon demonstrates clearly the fragmentary and hostile nature of early twelfth-century society in France. He states:

In 1111 the town of Laon rose against its bishop. Isolated on their steep rock the inhabitants of this city lived amid constant civil war and class hatred; noble held bourgeois for ransom, bourgeois robbed and pillaged peasant. The king himself was not safe in this strange town. Gaudri, bishop of Laon, was blessed with a character almost as pleasant as that of his people. He treated his townsmen as serfs, thought only of war and hunting, and always appeared in public followed by a negro slave who was his official executioner. To dispose of a baron who annoyed him this Christian prelate did not hesitate to have him assassinated in a church.

Profiting by the absence of Gaudri in England the bourgeois bought from the clergy and nobles the privilege of forming a corporation. When the bishop returned and learned of this transaction, he was furious; but he was

appeased by a large sum of money, and even swore to protect the commune. Louis VI, also well paid, confirmed the charter.

The following year the King happened to come to Laon, and Gaudri planned to improve the opportunity afforded by his presence to destroy the commune. The bourgeois discovered the plot, and offered Louis 400 pounds to remain faithful to his promise; but the bishop offered him 700 to break it. The last bid being higher the commune was abolished. At this, the popular indignation not unnaturally ran high. The king found it prudent to slip out of the town before daybreak. At sunrise bands of bourgeois armed with swords and axes rushed upon the episcopal palace, and massacred all within. Then the tumult extended, the houses of nobles and clergy were attacked, and the inmates escaped only by disguising themselves and taking flight. Fire and pillage followed; the cathedral church was burned to the ground.

The murder of a bishop could not be left unavenged. The royal army accordingly marched against the revolted city and took it by storm. Then it was the turn of the nobles and clergy to massacre the bourgeois. Finally the peasants of the neighborhood swarmed into the ruined town and pillaged the deserted houses. The commune was wiped out in blood. Sixteen years later, however, it was reestablished.³

Clearly a policy was needed that would allay the social and spiritual unrest that was caused by societal fragmentation in the early years of the twelfth century. That policy was, in part, formulated when the king and certain bishops acknowledged the great power of the bourgeoisie: "The first step toward the development of a policy of unification was taken when the king and the bishops in the Royal Domain decided to support the demands of the burghers against the feudal aristocracy, both secular and monastic."⁴ The implementation of this new policy was, for the most part, entrusted to the Abbot Suger, a personal

friend and advisor of Louis VI and Louis VII, an architect, and a particularly adept political administrator. Largely through his efforts, the new ideal of unity and stabilization of the fragmented and antagonistic elements of twelfth-century society was realized in the construction of cathedrals. It is for this reason that the origins and development of Gothic architecture are inextricably tied to the political and social developments of the twelfth century.

The alignment of the king and the bishops in the Royal Domain with the burghers, as we have seen, resulted in the restoration of a stable social structure. The most tangible result of this new alignment is the Gothic cathedral, a structure erected to the glory of God which, at the same time, served a useful secular function. The construction of a Gothic cathedral affirmed the attitudes and beliefs of those societal groups responsible for its creation and, perhaps without their realizing it, united them into a cohesive whole. Each of these groups could gain satisfaction from the combined efforts of all: "The cathedrals were constructed by wage-earning craftsmen and were designed to appeal to their pride of city and taste for fine and costly craftsmanship. At the same time they declared unmistakably the absolute primacy of the church and its bishop in the life of the city and affirm the sacral nature of monarchy." ⁵ The cathedrals were, then, symbols of political, religious and social unity.

Nowhere is this unity more clearly expressed than in the doorways of the new churches. This is best understood when we

this relationship may be seen in the drawing and more closely associated as cause or effect than was actually the case

compare the doorway of a Gothic cathedral with one of a Romanesque church. Norris Smith gives the following description of the Romanesque doorway of the church of Saint Lazare at Autun in Burgundy:

Apocalyptic themes are frequently depicted in the sculptured tympana of Romanesque doorways. The most telling of these subjects was the Last Judgement, in which the separation of the damned from the elect could be rendered with exoruciating delight. By far the most powerful representation of the subject is on the entrance to the church of S. Lazare in Burgundy. The image is dominated by a frontal and implacable figure of Christ, who offers us a choice between heaven on his right and hell on his left. It would have been logical and conventional for the sculptor to have shown the weighing of the souls in the center of the image, however, for this sculptor the struggle between angels and devils for possession of the essentially Jeckyll-and Hyde-ish souls of men was too important an aspect of the theme to be consigned to the fringes of his image; and so he puts the scales on Christ's left, where the weighing occupies more than half of the area that would otherwise have been given over to the torments of the wicked. The tympanum abounds in thrusting, jutting, angular, unstable forms; not the hell scene only but the entire relief seems to flicker in seething torment before our eyes.⁶

The ultimate effect on the observer viewing this Romanesque doorway is hardly one of communion and unity. It is, rather, segregation and disunity. This effect is explained by Norris Smith in the following manner:

The doorway is the point at which one steps within the frame of the building itself, passing from the infinite diversity and precariousness of the temporal world into the precincts of an institution that claimed to transcend that world and to make available to man an eternal serenity. It would appear from the sculptural evidence that the choice between terrestrial turbulence and paradisiacal repose was not an easy one for the Christian

to make; for the doorway is interpreted more often as a point of crisis than of juncture, of separation than of union." 7

In complete antithesis to the Romanesque doorway described above is the Gothic doorway of the Cathedral at Chartres, which clearly expresses a notion of unity and synthesis. Smith, in his discussion of the Royal Portals of the Cathedral at Chartres, remarks:

One of the evident concerns of the Gothic artist was to achieve an ideal amalgamation of the courtly and the liturgical. Though the Royal Portals at Chartres, and indeed the entire cathedral, are involved in that defense, the message is conveyed most incisively in the tympanum, archivolt and lintel of the right-hand portal of the west facade. In the tympanum we see the Virgin and Child regally enthroned between angels. The nativity scene below is handled in such a way as to stress the Eucharistic aspect of the Incarnation. 8

The effect on the observer of these portals, particularly the tympana, is in no way menacing and parochial. Instead, the observer actually feels himself to be a part of the church and to be encompassed by it even before he passes through the frame and enters the church:

The Gothic portal is a preparatory scene; it affirms, not the separation of the church from the world; but rather the possibility of an ideal and harmonious union between the two, between the Christian's life in the world and his membership within an order of things that both embraces and transcends this life. By the time one reaches the doors of the church one is already encompassed by the building and by its patterns of congregation and communion. 9

The doorways of the Gothic cathedrals, then, are the expression of unity. The twelfth-century Christian, as he stood before the Gothic cathedrals, must have felt himself to be an integral part

of such structures. They were, in all probability, structures partially built during his lifetime and, most likely, partly through his efforts. They were, in short, twelfth-century churches intended for all twelfth-century Christians. Hauser's remarks on this point are significant: "Art is no longer the private language of a thin stratum of initiates, but a mode of expression that is understood almost universally. Christianity itself is no longer a religion of the clergy, but develops more and more decidedly into a mass religion, it is humanized and emotionalized."¹⁰ Thomas Jackson, in his discussion of church interiors, similarly emphasizes the universal aspect of twelfth-century Christianity: "Unlike the conventional Romanesque church, from the principal parts of which laymen were rigidly excluded, the Gothic cathedral was open to all, a building in which the burgher could take pride as being his own."¹¹ This is just one further illustration of the universal and synthetic aspect of Gothic architecture.

*I am not
sure that
this is a
correct
interpretation*

Gothic architecture is also, however, particularizing and analytic. This aspect of Gothic architecture is best represented in the sculpture which adorns the portals of the Gothic cathedrals. Gothic portal sculpture, unlike that of the Romanesque, is the expression of a relative point of view which requires that individual figures be particularized. Hauser underlines this quality of Gothic portal sculpture in his discussion of the figures on the west portal of Chartres:

Gothic naturalism manifests itself in the representation of human form. In this field we meet everywhere a thoroughly new conception of art and one radically opposed to the stereotyping abstractions of Romanesque sculpture. Interest is now completely centered upon the individual and the characteristic; the freshness, vitality, and directness of Gothic portraits is already to be found to some extent in the figures on the west portal of Chartres. They are so accurately drawn that we feel sure that they must have been studies of actual living models. ¹²

The importance of this tendency toward particularization in Gothic architecture cannot be overstressed. In acknowledging the particular qualities of individuals, twelfth century man necessarily adopted a relative and temporal point of view.

Arnold Hauser observes: "For even to recognize that there are individuals is to open the door to individualism and relativism and to imply at least a partial dependance of truth upon the temporal and mutable facts of the world." ¹³ This emphasis in Gothic architecture upon the temporal and the relative is not, however, to be interpreted as a rejection of the absolute.

Gothic architecture, like the political policies of the Abbot Suger, represents a dialectic between the absolute and the relative, the atemporal and the temporal. In political terms this dialectic implies a reaffirmation of the essential hierarchic structure of French society according to the criteria of the twelfth century. The political changes effected by the Abbot Suger were in no way revolutionary. Instead, his policy was one of reaffirmation. Norris Smith makes the following remarks about the policy of Suger:

the necessity of such a conclusion is doubtful

Plainly a policy was needed that would restore the pre-eminence of the episcopate within the church, that would strengthen the hand of the king against the separatist tendencies of the aristocracy, that would reaffirm the sacred and priestly nature of kingship, and that would win the favor of the rebellious burghers. Thanks to Suger that policy began to take shape in the 1120's and 30's. Its main emphasis was on gaining a consensus, upon achieving unity and agreement, upon allaying the social and spiritual disturbances of the "renaissance of the twelfth century". In the jargon of our day, we might say that what was needed was a new image, both of the monarchy and of the episcopacy. A new image but not a revolution; the policy was essentially one of institutional stabilization. 14

In terms of religious architecture this dialectic implies a reaffirmation of the fundamental tenets of Catholicism. In an earlier historical period these dogmas were embodied in Romanesque churches. They would now be embodied in Gothic cathedrals, that is, they would be interpreted by twelfth-century men. Accordingly, Catholicism was humanized and emotionalized. The essential hierarchic structure of Catholicism remained. However, all men were now allowed to participate in that structure and were ranked according to their participation. Hauser observes:

Everything real, however slight and ephemeral, now has an immediate relationship with God; everything expresses the divine nature in its own way and so has its own value and meaning. Things claim attention only as manifestations of God and are ranked--according to the degree of their participation in God--in a hierarchy. The conception of a God wholly independent of the world gives way to that of a divine power working in created things. The God who "impelled from without" corresponds to the aristocratic world view of early feudalism; the God who is present and working in all the orderings of nature corresponds to the attitude of a more liberal world. 15

here is an assumption that segregation had been a reality in the society and not simply a fiction. But now we see it from a different perspective. What does this term mean?

It follows, then, that upward movement within this spiritual hierarchy is now possible: "The metaphysical hierarchy of things

1164

still reflects a society that is built up of estates, but the liberalism of the age already voices itself in the conception that even the lowest stage of being is in its own way indispensable. Formerly an unbridgeable gulf separated the estates, but now they have contact with one another." 16 This new attitude is clearly reflected in all fields of life: "Everywhere we sense a universalistic, international, cosmopolitan trend of affairs. In contrast with the stability of the early Middle Ages, a large part of the population is constantly on the move; knights undertake crusades, the faithful pilgrimages, merchants journey from town to town, artists and artisans roam from one building-site to another." 17

1164
1960

In Gothic architecture this tendency toward movement is clearly expressed in the portal sculpture. It is wholly analogous in effect to the movement of knights, burghers, merchants, and artisans mentioned above. Smith explains this tendency toward movement in Gothic sculpture as follows: "The Romanesque statue is, more often than not, confined within an architectural frame. The portal figures of the Gothic cathedral are not separated from one another by the architecture but seem, instead, to form a warmly human group and to occupy the portal space in much the same manner as do the members of the congregation who contemplate them from the pavement below." 18

Nowhere is this tendency toward movement more noticeable than in the interiors of the Gothic cathedrals. Hauser's comparison of a Romanesque interior with a Gothic interior clearly

underlines this quality of Gothic architecture:

The interior of the Romanesque church is a self-contained, stationary space that permits the eye of the spectator to rest and remain in perfect passivity. A gothic cathedral, on the contrary, seems to be in the process of development, as if it were rising up before our very eyes. It expresses a process and not a result. The resolution of the whole mass into a number of forces, the dissolution of all that is rigid and at rest by means of a dialectic of functions and subordinations, this ebb and flood, circulation and transformation of energy, gives us the impression of a dramatic conflict working up to a decision before our very eyes; and this dynamic effect is so overwhelming that beside it all else seems a mere means to this end. 19

The aesthetic principles upon which Gothic architecture is founded are, then, a direct reflection of the complex of societal attitudes and beliefs of the historical period during which the Gothic style developed. It has been through a study of those beliefs and attitudes that it has been possible to determine the uniqueness of Gothic architecture. It is an architecture based on a dialectic between a clearly defined and hierarchic concept of order and a freedom from that order. It is hierarchic in that it is synthetic and restorative. It is unstructured and free in that it upholds a concept of particularization and relativity. To understand this dialectic is, in effect, to understand not only Gothic architecture, but also the historical period during which it was created.

do not see that this would be reflected in any other way as to justify such an assumption of meaning

The success of the Gothic style in architecture can hardly be questioned. The structural and stylistic principles represented therein, in all probability, were utilized in other creative arts produced in that historical period, particularly

in literature. Only an examination in detail of representative literary texts of that period can verify this hypothesis. For the purposes of this demonstration we will examine in detail the vernacular lives of saints written by Wace in the twelfth century: La Vie de sainte Marguerite, La Conception Notre-Dame, and La Vie de saint Nicolas.

LITERARY REPRESENTATIONS OF THE AESTHETIC AND STYLISTIC PRINCIPLES OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE

In the early years of the twelfth century there was, as has been demonstrated, a general societal reorientation of thought. The religious literature created during that historical period, like the Gothic cathedral, clearly reflects that change. The most immediate result in literature is the use of the vernacular. The Gothic cathedral, it will be recalled, was a structure built through the combined efforts of all elements of society. It was, therefore, not intended as the exclusive possession of a spiritual elite, as were the Romanesque churches, but as the property of all those societal elements who participated in its construction. It was, in other words, open and comprehensible to all. Similarly, the vernacular lives of Saint Marguerite, the Virgin, and Saint Nicolas by Wace were comprehensible to all.²⁰ Wace, according to Mary Crawford, was one of the first writers to use the vernacular in writing the lives of saints: "Few provinces were so fortunate as Normandy in having an early historian of such talent as Wace. His great importance is due to the fact that instead of writing in Latin like the other educated men of his day, he was among the first and ablest to introduce the vernacular, which gained for him a much larger audience."²¹ Wace, himself, states his reason for writing the lives of saints in the vernacular in the preface to La Vie de saint Nicolas:

En romanz voil dire un petit
De ceo que nus le latin dit,
Que li lai le puissent aprendre,
Qui ne poent latin entendre. (41-44)

The audiences for whom Wace wrote these vernacular lives of saints are of an entirely different nature than those for whom the Latin lives of saints were written. George Perkins Marsh, in his study of medieval and modern saints and miracles, states:

The Latin lives of saints were designed, not like the Gospels, for general circulation or for the conversion of the people, but for the instruction and edification of the professional priesthood. They were, in short, what were technically called "legends," that is, writings intended and appointed to be read publicly and privately by the regular clergy. The term "legend" originally embraced a considerable part of the ordinary church service, but in common use it was afterward restricted to narratives of the lives and miracles of saints and martyrs, which, as well as all ascetic treatises, were read aloud to monks and nuns when assembled for instruction, more especially during the hour of reflection and they were much used in private study in the monastic cells.²²

Not only were the lives of saints by Wace in the vernacular, but they were also in verse. This is further evidence of the fact that they were intended for lay audiences. In verse, as J. D. M. Ford has determined, they were more comprehensible, particularly for an illiterate audience: "In the Romance form the lives of saints have acquired a new vitality and have found access to the simple and naïve souls for whom their authors had intended them. The rhymed form imposed itself once it was a question of works meant to be sung or recited before an illiterate public."²³ Evidence of the fact that the vernacular

lives of saints were intended to be presented orally is found in the poems themselves. Wace begins the prologue to La Conception Notre-Dame in the following manner:

Se aucuns est cui Dieu ait chier,
Sa parole et son mestier,
Vienge oïr que je dirai:
Ja d'un seul mot n'i mentirai. (1-4)

The invitation--Come hear what I will say, never will I lie-- is seen by Paul John Jones as one of the ~~most~~ outstanding characteristics of French lives of saints: *Outstanding is already superlative*

The prologues to the lives show, for the most part, that the poems were intended to be read aloud. The formula, "Listen, and may God bless you for it, be quiet now, come nearer and listen to what I say, never will I lie," is so general in the prologues that it is hardly necessary to give further quotations. As a matter of fact, it is found in about two-thirds of all French lives of saints. Apparently the lives in verse were definitely designed for oral transmission. ²⁴

Further evidence of the fact that Wace was attempting to communicate effectively with all members of his audiences is seen in his reworking of the Latin texts with respect to the clarity and logic of the presentation as written in Latin. Elizabeth Francis has determined that Wace made many revisions of the logic in the Latin text of La Vie de sainte Marguerite:

Le poème de Wace reproduit, souvent presque textuellement, la version latine. Mais nous constatons de la part du poète une préoccupation de bien ordonner les idées et de bien présenter la matière fournie par le texte latin. La composition de la version latine est marquée par un trait spécial, le grand nombre de prières faites par la sainte, qui figurent tout au long dans le récit. C'est d'ordinaire dans les passages consacrés aux prières et aux dialogues que l'auteur de la version latine s'exprime confusément et se répète. On ne s'étonnera pas que ce soit précisément à ces endroits que le poète français cherche à resserrer ou à étendre sa matière. Lorsqu'il lui arrive

d'amplifier une phrase, une idée, il précise ce qui dans la version latine demeure vague; il en complète et fait ressortir la pensée. En dernier lieu il se réserve la liberté d'éclairer le texte latin, de substituer des expressions bien définies aux expressions obscures, de ranger les idées selon un ordre logique; en un mot le poème français est l'oeuvre d'un traducteur qui sait composer. ²⁵

Communication is also facilitated by Wace's constant use of repetition and restatement. This stylistic technique is particularly useful in the oral presentation of a narrative. Not only does it orient those who may have come late to the oral presentation but also it clarifies the narrative for those listeners who may have experienced some difficulty in following the sequence of events. According to Elinar Ronsjø, repetition is one of the characteristic features of Wace's style: "Les répétitions resteront toujours chez Wace un trait caractéristique dont il se sert fréquemment dans ses ouvrages." ²⁶ In La Conception Notre-Dame, for example, there are sixty-two cases of repetition of complete sentences. La Vie de saint Nicolas contains forty-one. These repetitions are deliberate. In using them Wace made his poetry more accessible and comprehensible for his lay audiences. The effect on the reader of these repetitions is wholly analagous to the Gothic concept of congregation and communion, which, in effect, makes Christianity a religion of the people, and not only the spiritual elite. Wace's message is available to all in much the same manner that the entire Gothic cathedral is open to all.

I like
the point
very much,
but don't
sure that the
analogy is
specific enough
to show a real
relationship.

1171

Repetition is not the only stylistic technique capable of producing this effect. It can also be achieved by the use of synonyms juxtaposed. The desired effect of such juxtaposition was, in all probability, greater clarity and precision in that the auditor's attention has been called to a particular quality or action which the author feels to be significant. The following examples, from La Vie de sainte Marguerite, illustrate Wace's use of this technique:

Ancele Deu fu et espouse (16)

Par les costés et par les .lans (192)

Que je puisse ma chastée
Garder et ma virginité (247-248)

Mais jo te pri tant et requier
Qui de ta main ne m'atouchier. (483-484)

This type of repetition, as Elinar Ronsjô has determined, can be valuable in an oral presentation: "Ce genre de répétition ne porte pas préjudice au style. L'alignement de deux synonymes constitue un moyen excellent de faire ressortir un mot--le plus souvent le verbe--pour accentuer davantage l'emphase voulue par l'auteur et pour rendre le récit plus vif, plus mouvementé." 27

Excellent point

Closely related to the two preceding techniques utilized by Wace, is that of summation, actually a kind of repetition, which, like the juxtaposed synonyms and the repetition of complete sentences, insures clarity. The most remarkable use of this technique in the lives of saints by Wace is in La Conception Notre-Dame. Before presenting the parentage and death

of the Virgin, Wace summarizes the entire first half of the text:

Guasce ot non cil qui fist l'escrit
 Qui de sainte Marie a dit
 Comment concéue et criée,
 Comment ele fu anonciée,
 Com faitement ele fu née
 Et au temple as trois anz portée.
 Puis oistes qu'iluec servi
 Tant que XIIIII anz acompli,
 Comment par cui Joseph la prist,
 Qui ja avoir ne la queist.
 Puis oistes le mariage,
 Et le salu et le mesage
 Que li angles li aporta,
 Quant li Fiuz Dieu s'i aombra
 En la cité de Nazareth.
 Pui oistes d'Elizabeth
 Qui sainte Marie recut,
 Quant cil del ventre s'escommut.
 Or dirons, à la Dieu aie,
 Comment oissi de ceste vie
 Quant Diex l'en fist el ciel mener;
 Mais premierement veil conter
 Un petit de son parenté,
 Dont maintes genz aurent douté. (1220-1244)

Summaries such as the preceding, as well as repetitions and juxtaposed synonyms, are used in the lives of saints of Wace, to produce, it can be argued, a Gothic effect. These stylistic techniques, as used by Wace, help to make the lives of the saints more accessible and comprehensible to twelfth-century men. The effect produced is wholly analagous to that produced by the doorway of a Gothic Cathedral. In both instances it is a feeling of communion and congregation.

if one agrees with the "intent" of the doorway, then the effect is the same. But the two fruits are not

A similar effect is produced, both in Gothic architecture and in the lives of the saints, by the use of purely secular material as a means of elucidation. Gothic architecture, it will be seen, features *closer stylistically than any* which would result in the same end.

be recalled, frequently utilized secular material in order to express its synthetic and liberal nature, particularly in portal sculpture and in stained glass windows. All matter, it was felt, could be useful in the service of God. André S. Blum verifies this as follows: "Not only the holy books and pious legends furnished the subjects for Gothic decorations, but we see moral allegories, vices and virtues, and the seasons and months personified; the signs of the zodiac and agricultural and industrial occupations." ²⁸ Wace, in two remarkable passages in La Conception Notre-Dame, similarly utilized secular references to clarify concepts for his twelfth century audience. The first is used in Wace's explanation of the Immaculate Conception. He compares the Virgin to a verrière:

Bien puet virge faire enfanter
Et sa virginité garder.
Une semblance vos dirai:
Issi con li soulauz son rai
Par la verriere met et trait,
Qu'à la verriere mal ne fait:
Issi et mult plus soutillement,
Entra et issi chastement
En Nostre Dame le fil Dé,
Pour garder sa virginité.
Virge conceut, virge enpreigna,
Virge porta, virge enfanta,
Virge alaita, virge nori,
Virge remest, virge veschi,
En terre virge conversa,
De cest mont virge trespasa,
Virge en ala à son Seignor,
A son fil, à son criator. (1140-1158)

The second is utilized by Wace to explain the significance of Notre-Dame as a guiding and directing principle in this world. Notre-Dame is compared to the North Star. All men are seen as

what do you mean by liberal?
Noic comprehension
yes, but this scarcely a feature of the Gothic period alone - that and true of Renaissance architecture is true, but that does not mean that this was not manifest in fact. etc. - i.e. the architecture is only one "doorway" to the period - One risks going astray by looking at the heavens through a stationary telescope. Everyone of the items above was prevalent throughout the Middle Ages

sailors lost at sea at night:

En li doit l'en avoir torné
Et son corage et son pensé.
Con cil qui doit aler par mer,
Garde as estoilles de la mer
Une estoille qui ne se muet;
Qui connoistre la set et puet,
En son cors par lui gouverner,
Ne puet pas en mer esgarer.
Ceste estoille nos senefie
Nostre dame sainte Marie,
Qui est estoille de bonté,
Et de clarté et de biauté,
Qui pure fu, clere et estable,
En nul vice et coulourable.
Cil qui, par nuit, par la mer vont,
Ce sont li homme de cest mont,
Qui en grant commoration,
N'i trueve l'en se travail non.
La nuit senefie pechié
Qui tost a homme trebuchié;
Pechié fait homme trebuchier
Et aveugler et desvoier.
Ja n'iert fame si pecheriz,
Ne de pechié hom si lasniz,
S'il reclaimme sainte Marie
De bon cuer, qu'il n'en ait aie. (1168-1194)

*but these comparisons
could be traced to
a much earlier
period*

Wace's use of these two comparisons, as well as the techniques
earlier described--repetition, juxtaposed synonyms, summaries--
are all manifestations of the Gothic world view. As a result
of Wace's use of these techniques, the lives of the saints were
made accessible and comprehensible to all twelfth-century
Christians. The remarks of Arnold Hauser are so significant
with reference to the Gothic concept of accessibility, that they
are worthy of repetition: "Art is no longer the private language
of a thin stratum of initiates, but a mode of expression that
is understood almost universally. Christianity itself is no
longer a religion of the clergy, but develops more and more as
a mass religion." 29

*These are
devices
used in
other areas
& cultures*

*The concept
of these works
being accessible
to the masses
requires some
explanation*

In addition to the techniques mentioned above, Wace has achieved, by the addition of many particularizing details to the Latin texts which served him as models, what can be called a Gothic effect. The two miracles added by Wace in La Vie de saint Nicolas, that of the strangled child and that of the child who boiled to death in a pan of water, are good examples. By adding these two miracles to the already known list of miracles attributed to Saint Nicholas, Wace was able to particularize and make temporal the saint for his twelfth-century listeners. His listeners, in fact, were able to see glimpses of their own lowly lives in Wace's poem:

La otesce v il aveit ju
 Son enfant enz al bain guerpie
 Que desur le feu fet aueit
 De tere al cel tens feseit lom
 Vn tes veissel par pan aueit non. (161-165)

E li enfes qui dedenz fu
 Eut le cors tendre et nu. (172-173)

En vn petit batel se mist
 A vne nief nager se fist (382-383)

Vne nascele i unt troue
 Qui ces de la nief apela
 Corteisement od els parla (408-409)

The effect of such passages on a twelfth-century audience was, as Marsh has determined, entirely positive: "The lives of the saints were all more or less stamped with the character and costume of their own age and with the local color of the country of their composition. A circumstance which rendered them especially acceptable as well as credible to the contemporary world and secured for them both a wide circulation and afterward a gradual

recognition by the faithful as authentic records." ³⁰ These particularizing details, in many respects, transform the lives of the saints into social histories. In speaking of the pilgrims on their way to Myre to celebrate the feast of Saint Nicholas, Crawford remarks: "These are bright pictures of a real society. Thus nuns, merchants, robbers, prisoners, money lenders and clerks all come in turn to offer a realistic picture of twelfth century life." ³¹ In this respect, the vernacular lives of the saints by Wace are in sharp contrast with the Latin texts which served as models for Wace. In the Latin texts particularizing details, for the most part, were considered to be of no value. This is explained by Hauser in the following manner: "Feudal culture, which is essentially anti-individualistic, favors the general and the homogenous in art and in other fields, and strives for a representation of the world in which everything is stereotyped." ³² Stereotypes and abstractions, however, were not enough for the twelfth-century Christian who was becoming more and more aware of himself as an individual. Wace clearly fulfilled his listeners' desires for particularizing details in that he has humanized not only the saint but also the individual pilgrims who journey to Myre. Those pilgrims are clearly linked to a particular nation and to a particular historical period--indeed to a particular day, the Feast of Saint Nicholas. The passage of time, in fact, for the twelfth-century Christian was measured by the feasts of the saints. This particularization and temporalization of the saints

After one would have to judge whether the changes made represented such a cultural change or not.

this is not peculiar to feudal culture alone - in fact we are not so sure that there is a real cause or effect here. Feudalism is a product of the acceptance of the statement that the vernacular lives added particularizing detail (this I would have to see demonstrated from the text)

by twelfth-century Christians is very similar to the treatment by Gothic architects of the portal sculpture of the cathedrals. Gothic portal sculpture, it will be recalled, centers its attention completely upon the individual and the characteristic. Hauser makes the following remarks about one of the figures on the west portal of Chartres: "The kind old man with the look of a peasant, high cheek bones, broad splayed nose, and slanting eyes must have been personally known to the artist. The remarkable fact is that the figure is so surprisingly full of character."³³ It is little wonder that the twelfth-century man felt himself to be an integral part of a Gothic cathedral--for him to stand before a Gothic doorway must have been like standing before his contemporaries.

For the twelfth-century man to have felt himself to be an integral part of a Gothic cathedral is clear testimony of the fact that the Gothic had succeeded in accomplishing the goals established for it by the Abbot Suger. The fulfillment of those same goals was also a concern of Wace, a twelfth-century man of letters. The prologue to La Vie de saint Nicolas by Wace is, in this respect, a remarkable passage:

A ces qui n'unt lectres aprises.
Ne lur ententes n'i ont mises,
Deivent li clerc mustrer la leu,
Parler des seinz, dire pur quel
Chescone feste est controee,
Chescon a sun jur garde.
Chescon ne poet pas tut saver
Ne tut oir ne tut veer.
Li un sunt lai, li un lectré,
Li un fol et li un senee,

This is precisely the kind of criticism which led scholars to say - the archpriest must have been in prison when he wrote these profoundly touching and personal lines - only to be shown by someone less romantically inclined that it was a common topos used hundreds of times in a similar way.

Li un petit et li un grant,
 Li un povre, li un manant.
 Se done Deus deversement
 Divers dons a diverse gent.
 Chescon deit mustrer sa bonte
 De ceo que Deus lui ad doné.
 Li ohivaler et li burgeis
 Et li vilein et li cortais
 Deivent en Deu aver fiance
 Et honurer de lur substance.
 Bonement deivent esculter
 Quant il oient de Deu parler.
 Qui mels set mels deit enseigner
 Et qui plus peot plus deit aider.
 Qui plus est fort plus deit porter
 Et qui plus ad plus deit doner.
 Chescon deit mustrer son saver
 Et sa bonté et son poer
 Et Deu servir, son creatur,
 Et as barons sainz pur s'amur.
 Qui ben l'aime et ben le sert
 Bon gueredon de lui desert.
 Petit prendra qui sert petit,
 Si cum l'escriture le dit.
 Jo sui Normanz s'ai a non Guace.
 Dit m'est et rové que jo face
 De seint Nicholas en romanz,
 Qui fist miracles bels et granz.
 En romanz difrai de sa vie
 Et des miracles grant partie.
 En romanz voil dire un petit
 De ceo que nus le latin dit,
 Que li lai le puissent aprendre,
 Qui ne poent latin entendre. (1-44)

In this prologue Wace's stated goal is the union of all men--
 li ohivaler et li burgeis et li vilein et li corteis--for the
 service of God. All men, he states, are individuals and each
 has his own particular qualities which he should fulfill to the
 best of his ability. Wace, in this prologue, states that he will
 use his ability to read Latin in order to communicate the lives
 of the saints to those who cannot understand Latin. These same

*You seem to imply that such a concept is new that there is a new
 concern for the individual seen here - But this concept is purely
 biblical - that every man is obliged to develop the talents given him
 by God - that each one renders homage in his own way, the humble
 thing as worthy as the really talented of the great miracle on which
 St. Francis based his "Jongleur" story - the biblical tale of the
 old woman who could only give the Dittan is the monks who could only*

sentiments are given complete expression in Gothic cathedrals, structures everywhere proclaiming unity and wherein twelfth-century individuals could all freely enter and in the construction of which, each contributed in his own way. Wace, in the prologue to La Vie de saint Nicolas, expresses those same sentiments. The architectural manifestation of those sentiments is the Gothic cathedral.

Notwithstanding the essentially synthetic nature of Gothic architecture, the Gothic is, at the same time, an architecture of incompleteness. This is directly related to the Gothic conception of composition. Hauser explains that theory in the following manner:

q Gothic composition is mainly additive and in this it is far removed from the spatial and temporal unity of classical work. The principle of continuous representation, the inclination to review, as in a film, all the particular phases of an event, the readiness to overlay the "pregnant moment" with an epic wealth of detail--signs of an artistic approach which we first met with in late Roman times and which never quite disappeared throughout the Middle Ages--now comes to the fore again in the cyclical compositions of the Gothic. 34

Yet, inherent in this additive theory, as was demonstrated in an earlier section of this essay, is a concept of motion and incompleteness. Hauser explains the incompleteness and mobility implied by the Gothic as follows:

The interior of a Romanesque church is a self-contained, stationary space that permits the eye of the spectator to rest and remain in perfect passivity. A Gothic church, on the contrary, seems to be in the process of development, as if it were rising up before our very

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eyes; it expresses a process and not a result. The resolution of the whole mass into a number of forces, the dissolution of all that is rigid and at rest by means of a dialectic of functions and subordinations, this ebb and flood, circulation and transformation of energy, gives us the impression of a dramatic conflict working up to a decision before our very eyes. And this dynamic effect is so overwhelming that beside it all else seems a mere means to this end. So it comes about that the effect of such a building is not impaired when it is left uncompleted; its appeal and its power are actually increased. ³⁵

The Gothic is, then, a dialectic between the complete and the incomplete. Manifestations of this dialectic are everywhere in the literature of the twelfth century, particularly ^{is only terminology used to describe a visual impression} with that literature associated with what has been called an oral tradition, or at least, oral presentation. The Gothic ^{It is virtually metaphorical and should not be extended - that the addition of detail parallels the sentiment for rhetorical elaboration and that specific method of composition is undeniable and precise} compositional dialectic, in fact, proves to be a key to understanding the essential structure of the vernacular lives of the saints written by Wace. This is best seen when we compare the Latin lives of the saints, which served as models for Wace's compositions, with the vernacular renderings of Wace. In no case has Wace rejected the body of material provided for him by the Latin hagiographers. In all cases he has assimilated or utilized their material and made his own additions. This is clearly seen in La Vie de saint Nicolas, to which Wace added on two miracles that are not found in the Latin versions. It is almost as though Wace were attempting to complete the work by updating it ~~and~~ adding on the two miracles. Yet the life of a saint, by its very nature, can never be completed. The life of a saint, like a Gothic ca-

thedral, is both temporal and atemporal. A Gothic cathedral participates in time and is affected by the passage of time, yet it is outside of time in its significance. In a like manner, the life of a saint is affected by time since every new generation makes its own additions to the essential body of information supplied to it by tradition, as did Wace in La Vie de saint Nicolas, La Vie de sainte Marguerite, and La Conception Notre-Dame. The life of a saint, however, can never be completed. Each new generation makes the lives of the saints temporal, and in so doing adds particularizing details which are valuable to cultural historians in reconstructing the social history of past historical moments. It is for this reason that the vernacular saints' lives of Wace are of value to us today.

This is completely analagous to what was accomplished in the twelfth century by Geoffrey, Bishop of Chartres, who in the 1140's was inspired to begin work on a new façade for his Romanesque church. Just as Wace had redone the Latin lives of the saints for the twelfth century, so, too, was the Romanesque church at Chartres redone. In no way were the twelfth-century revisions meant to refute the essential premises of the Romanesque church--it remained a house of God. The twelfth century wholeheartedly accepted that notion but chose to redo the physical structure of the church for the twelfth-century Christian and his world. The end result

Such a social end to this work is debatable - Could not the desire to redo the facade simply be for artistic or aesthetic reasons etc. - that its style is different is not surprising, given the difference

Do you mean that they are worthless as literature? Good literature is quite independent of its documentary value - quite 20th C. just as the 19th C. was 19th C. -

is the transformation of a Romanesque church into a Gothic cathedral. This is very similar to the Augustinian appeal to save pagan literature and adapt it to the medieval Christian world. The clearest evidence of the redoing of Chartres is the west façade. Above it are two towers, one is Romanesque, the other Gothic. Wace, in a like manner, rewrote the Latin lives of Saint Marguerite, Saint Nicholas, and the Virgin for the tastes of the twelfth century. Yet the lives of saints are never completed, no more than a Gothic cathedral is ever completed. Both the life of a saint and a Gothic cathedral participate continually in time, yet they exist simultaneously in the atemporality of religious thought. In this respect they are both modern. Hauser gives the following explanation of the modernity in Gothic Architecture:

The modern preference for the unfinished, the sketchy and the fragmentary has its origins here. Since Gothic days all great art, with the exception of a few short lived classicist movements, has something of the fragmentary about it, an inward or outward incompleteness, an unwillingness to utter the last word. There is always something left over for the spectator or the reader to complete. The modern artist shrinks from the last word because he feels the inadequacy of all words--a feeling which we may say was never experienced by man before Gothic times."³⁶

Modernity, then, in the twelfth century has several meanings: sociologically it is institutional stabilization, in literature it is the life of a saint in the vernacular, in architecture it is the Gothic cathedral.

CONCLUSION

The phenomenon in the history of architecture known as the Gothic and the vernacular lives of the saints written by Wace are, then, very similar. Both are constructed with essentially the same aesthetic and stylistic principles and both represent an attempt to deal with temporality in an increasingly complex and urbanized world. Both, in short, are a complete reflection of the duality of twelfth-century thought.

It becomes increasingly apparent that the principles of art are valuable in the study of literature. It has been through the study of the aesthetic and stylistic principles of the Gothic in architecture that it has been possible to determine that La Vie de sainte Marguerite, La Conception Notre-Dame, and La Vie de saint Nicolas of Wace exhibit characteristics which can be considered Gothic. These principles similarly provide a basis for the hypothesis that other forms of vernacular literature of the twelfth century may also be founded on the aesthetic and stylistic principles of the Gothic. That hypothesis can only be verified by an examination of that vernacular literature, using as a means of elucidation the structural and stylistic principles of the Gothic style.

NOTES

1. Helmut Hatzfeld, Literature Through Art (New York, 1952), p. 211.
2. For a complete discussion of the Classicism of Gide see the following two books: Klaus Mann, André Gide and the Crisis of Modern Thought. New York, 1943, p. 202. and Leon Pierre-Quint, André Gide. New York, 1934,
3. Norris K. Smith, Medieval Art (Dubuque, Iowa, 1967), p. 85.
4. Smith, p. 86.
5. Smith, p. 90.
6. Smith, pp. 66-67.
7. Smith, pp. 65-66.
8. Smith, pp. 93-94.
9. Smith, p. 109.
10. Arnold Hauser, The Social History of Art I (New York, 1951), p. 201.
11. Thomas G. Jackson, Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture (Cambridge, 1913), p. 171.
12. Hauser, p. 234.
13. Hauser, p. 237.
14. Smith, p. 88.
15. Hauser, p. 233.
16. Hauser, p. 233.
17. Hauser, pp. 201-202.
18. Smith, p. 93.
19. Hauser, p. 242.
20. For a complete discussion of the sources of Wace's poems, the life of Wace, and the Latin texts used as models by Wace, see the following works: Elizabeth A. Francis, La Vie de Sainte Marguerite. Paris, 1932.; Elinar Ronsjø, La Vie de Saint Nicolas par Wace. Copenhagen, 1942; G. Manoel and G.-S. Trebutien, L'établissement de la fête de la conception Notre-Dame par Wace. Caen, 1942.

The introductions to the above named editions establish the fact that Wace was born around the beginning of the twelfth century. The three saints' lives written by Wace, most scholars agree, date from the period 1135-1155. The dating of the Latin sources for these poems is more difficult. Most scholars agree that they were written during the Feudal period, that is, during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. All references in this essay to the lives of the saints written by Wace will be based on the editions mentioned above.

21. Mary Sinclair Crawford, Life of Saint Nicholas (Phila. 1923), p. 18.
22. George Perkins Marsh, Medieval and Modern Saints and Miracles (New York, 1876), p. 11.
23. J. D. M. Ford, "The Saints Life in Vernacular Literature of the Middle Ages," Catholic Review, XVII (1931), p. 271.
24. Paul John Jones, Prologue and Epilogue in Old French Lives of Saints (Philadelphia, 1933), p. 17.
25. Elizabeth A. Francis, La Vie de Sainte Marguerite par Wace (Paris, 1932), pp. viii-xi.
26. Elinar Ronsj8, La Vie de Saint Nicolas par Wace (Copenhagen, 1942), p. 22.
27. Ronsj8, p. 23.
28. André S. Blum, A Short History of Art (New York, 1928), p. 101.
29. Hauser, p. 201.
30. Marsh, p. 14.
31. Crawford, p. 41.
32. Hauser, p. 186.
33. Hauser, p. 235.
34. Hauser, pp. 238-39.
35. Hauser, pp. 242-43.
36. Hauser, p. 243.

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“Life is very nice,
but it has no shape. The
object of art is actually
to give it some.”

Jean Aronilh

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A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE CONTE
AS A GENRE IN NINETEENTH CENTURY FRENCH LITERATURE

S. Robert Powell

May 8, 1969

A/A-

senses. There is, then, an internal and highly emotional unity achieved without the use of Renaissance symmetry. It is in this respect that the art of the Baroque represents what can be considered a classical impulse, an impulse which renders the Baroque more accessible to the general public in that it is directed at producing an emotional response instead of one that is intellectual.

As such the art of the Baroque shows itself to be a valuable instrument of Catholicism in the early years of the seventeenth century. The Copernican system of astronomy had, it can be argued, dealt a fatal blow to the medieval world-view. Catholicism no longer, to a great many, provided a satisfactory explanation of man's position in the world. The Reformation was, in fact, the result of the disintegration of the medieval conception of the universe; when that disintegration occurred man became fully aware of his individual identity. In the Ptolemaic world the characteristics of the individual elements of a whole are determined by a pre-conceived notion of what the whole should be. In the Copernican world it is the characteristics of the individual elements that determine the characteristics of the whole. The former clearly depicts the Renaissance world-view, the latter that of the Baroque.

It is not surprising, then, that the Reformation should have occurred when it did. Nor is it surprising that the art of the Baroque should become one of the principal instruments utilized by the Catholic church in its fight against Protestantism. In order to resolve this apparent paradox it is necessary to examine for a

moment the position of the Catholic church during the early years of the seventeenth century.

Within thirty years of the disbanding of the Council of Trent, the papacy in Rome gathered together a group of artists whose task it became to make Rome into the most beautiful city in the Christian world "for the greater glory of God and the Church". The Catholic church knew only too well the danger with which it was threatened by the subjectivism of the Reformation spirit. In its fight against that subjectivism the Catholic church attempted to reestablish what can only be considered as a medieval world-view. It is as though the Catholic church were attempting to deny the findings of Copernicus and thereby position itself as an organizing universal principle. In so doing the Catholic church fixed and schematized the iconography of Catholicism. The Annunciation, the Birth of Christ, the Ascension and other standard Biblical scenes assumed at that time a form which still holds good today as the standard model for the devotional image. This, in part, explains why Caravaggio was not a popular success at that time. His unconventional form of representation was considered to be inappropriate and dangerously subjective. The Church required that works of art serve didactic purposes, that is, to persuade, to overwhelm and to propagate the faith but in so doing it was to use an elevated language so as to disseminate and not necessarily deepen the faith. No art is more suited to the goals of the papacy than the art of the Baroque. It is, unlike Mannerism, sensual, emotional, and universally comprehensible.

These subjective qualities were, however, carefully controlled by clearly defined criteria established by the papacy. The Catholic church had, in effect, reaffirmed its position and at the same time adapted itself to the historical reality as far as possible. In other words, Catholicism reconciled subjective factors that were threatening its very existence by utilizing a type of subjectivism as a means of disseminating the faith. In so doing the Catholic church recovered its sense of security in the modern world. A period of the richest, most luxurious and extravagant art production then began in Rome, all of which celebrated the reaffirmation of Catholicism.

By mid-century, however, the influence of the curia began to decline and the center of world art shifted from Italy to France where the most progressive political structure of the age was to be found, absolute monarchy. Baroque art in France, as will be demonstrated, like its Italian counterpart, was similarly subjected to sanctions imposed from without. The comparatively liberal attitudes of Louis XIII, Richelieu and Mazarin allowed Baroque subjectivism to develop without any external limitations being imposed thereon. This was not the case, however, when Louis XIV assumed personal rule in 1660. The Italian Baroque, it will be recalled, was the vehicle of an ambitious papacy concerned with the dissemination of the faith. The French Baroque similarly was utilized as a vehicle for the dissemination of a particular belief--the glorification of Louis XIV as the personal representative of God on earth.

In the France of Louis XIV the general type in art prevails rather than the particular artistic personality. Individual works of art lose their autonomy and amalgamate into a total ensemble, all of which is directed at the glorification of the king. Art and all of life in France is controlled and regulated from outside. Subjectivity is tabooed since the desire is to see everywhere in art the picture of an arbitrarily constructed and forcibly conserved world instead of reality itself. Form enjoys a precedence over content and all this eventually leads to the complete belittling of individuality, personal style and initiative. This is an exact restatement of the predicament of the Baroque in Italy. In both instances, an external agent imposed sanctions to limit subjectivity. In both instances subjectivism continually combatted absolutism. This dilemma ^{would} permeate every aspect of French life and art until the end of the eighteenth century when subjectivity would eventually be triumphant. At that time it would be fully realized that an essentially inauthentic principle of unity could not be imposed from without upon a post-Ptolemaic world. Such would be the final impact of the Baroque aesthetic.

You spread yourself too thin. I am intrigued by your ideas on the Copernican system, although can one be sure that such a change in attitude was fully realized by those in power? That is were the patrons of the 17th & 18th C. Baroque conscious of applying Copernican principles, or is their attitude only similar & not necessarily dependant upon Copernicus? I liked your essay, although you tend to try too much. If you had stayed within

limits of the
the question posed, 'What is the nature
of the Italian or French Baroque?' I think
your paper would have been tighter. I'm by
no means knocking your originality, but
for a 4-page paper you have attempted too
much. Also references to works of art are
important, although description is not necessary.
B+/A-

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S. Robert Powell
Summer 1968

S. Robert Powell
Summer 1968

"Drawing is the first of the virtues, for a painter, it is the foundation, it is everything."--Ingres

The study of nineteenth century French literature, art and music is, for the most part, the study of romanticism; yet romanticism is by no means a homogenous phenomenon in the creative arts. Victor Hugo fully realized that fact when he remarked in his Préface de Cromwell that the creative arts of the new century would not be judged according to the old rules but only by the special laws of individual temperaments. The extreme diversity in nineteenth century French art is perhaps nowhere more apparent than in the canvases of Ingres and those of his contemporaries, particularly Delacroix. The differences between the creative productions of those two artists are identical, for the most part, to those which, in the seventeenth century, resulted in the formation of two warring factions within the Academy over the issue of drawing versus color: the conservatives (Poussinistes) against the Rubénistes. The conservatives defended Poussin's view that drawing, which appealed to the mind, was superior to color, which appealed to the senses; the Rubénistes advocated color, rather than drawing, as being more *très* to nature. Ingres, in many respects, represents a continuation of the tradition of Poussin. This is best demonstrated by examining a group of paintings and drawings executed by Ingres at different moments of his artistic career.

One of the most remarkable demonstrations of Ingres' use of drawing can be seen in the portrait of Madame Rivière, exhibited in the Salon of 1806. Madame Rivière is a masterpiece of linear

design. The painting, in fact, is permeated throughout by linear patterns, most noticeably in the folds of the somewhat diaphanous scarf and the drapery-like shawl which covers her right arm. The principal linear pattern or flow in the painting is vertical. It begins at the bottom of the canvas and flows in a rather graceful curve along the right arm and up to the shoulders where it ultimately merges with the more stable horizontal linear pattern defined by the left arm and the scarf. It is, in fact, these two principal linear patterns which stabilize the oval form of the painting. The effect is not unlike that achieved by Raphael in the Alba Madonna painted about 1510 which has been considered the perfect expression of Renaissance art theory. In that painting harmony and balance of design are found in Raphael's ability to stabilize the circular form of the painting with the triangular arrangement of the figures and the strong horizontal line behind them, composed of the river and trees. It is perhaps significant that Ingres has achieved a similar stability by the use of only one figure, without the use of a river and trees to arrive at harmony and balance. He has done so by using a rather complicated linear pattern in which it is possible to observe each line as a separate entity and, at the same time, as part of an overall pattern. Each line, as it flows on, merges or divides along its course to flow into or serve as origin for others. The lines established by Ingres in this painting have, in fact, a beauty of their own as abstract rhythmic patterns. This may in part explain why Ingres violated, consciously or not, the classical dogma of accurate or idealized proportion. Were Madame Rivière to stand, her arms hanging at her sides would be of grotesquely different lengths--the right one elongated, the left shortened. Yet these distortions are necessary if the canvas is to succeed when the woman

is seated. It is as though Madame Rivière were reduced to a minor role in the representation or used primarily as a vehicle for a demonstration of a particular linear pattern within a given shape, that is, the oval form. It is then of no great significance that the human form is distorted. The idealized proportion of human form must be violated if the linear patterns are to succeed in this particular representation. It is for that reason that the painting is a success.

A similar use of line and drawing is seen in the Bather of Valpinçon, where, as in the portrait of Madame Rivière, line is the picture. Line, however, is not used in the intricate patterns that are present in Madame Rivière. The nude bather is represented by means of a small number of subtle and almost eventless contours and lines. The simplicity of the representation of the human figure is very much in contrast with the knotted-looking cloth on the bather's left arm as well as in the turban which she wears. The simplicity of the representation of the body is taken up again in the contours of the drapery at the left, which, like the human figure, is sharply defined. A similar treatment of the human figure and of drapery is seen in Stratonice (1866). However, unlike the portrait of Madame Rivière and the Bather of Valpinçon, Stratonice is based on a literary motif which gives the painting a somewhat mawkish and absurd quality. Nevertheless, Stratonice is a success since we need know nothing of the Greek princess' passion and subsequent divorce in order to enjoy the representation. The literary motif constitutes merely the occasion for and not the content of the picture. What is painted by Ingres is quite unimportant. The only question is how it is painted. Stratonice is a masterpiece

of linear design. The very elaborate and somewhat cluttered Greek

I would ask you if the Bather of Valpinçon is only painted by drawing, or if color is also important?

interior is rendered with a precision approaching that of photography. Every detail is clearly and precisely drawn; every possible fold in the draperies is carefully rendered. In fact, the precision of the representation of the human figure at right gives her an almost frozen quality. She appears no more capable of movement than the Greek statue seen in the background. The woman at the right of the painting and the statue in the background both, however, provide the artist with a means of demonstrating his virtuosity in the use of line and linear patterns. One even has the impression that Ingres might have assembled as many Greek accessory details in the painting as possible in order to demonstrate his abilities in using linear patterns. In so doing, the woman at the right becomes only one of many naturalistic details in a Greek interior. She is rather unimportant. The manner in which she is represented is very significant and it is that which is Ingres' primary concern. She is, in short, a vehicle for the representation of numerous and varied linear patterns.

Another remarkable example of Ingres' use of line is the portrait of Francois Marius Granet. In this representation of Ingres' friend, the head appears at the top of a generally triangular mass formed by the trunk region. The importance of the head is further heightened by the architectural landscape (Villa Medici) which, because of its small scale, emphasizes the importance of the human figure. In addition, the face is framed by the white collar and the dark hair. All of these devices were used by painters of portraits of the Renaissance and became conventional after that time. Yet Ingres' Granet is remarkable. This is true, in part, because of the linear patterns established by Ingres. They are patterns which combine the sinuosities of the edges of the open cape and its thrown-back collar

with the contrasting solidity of its general silhouette. In addition, the rectangular book, the wall, the buildings in the background, and the irregular shaped collar are drawn in linear arabesques that have their own abstract beauty.

Ingres' use of line is best seen in his pencil drawings done in preparation for portraits. The drawings done in preparation for the Comte Turpin de Crissé are a good example. In these drawings the head is typically modeled in more detail than the figure, which is sketched in with absolute assurance but with only an occasional light indication of shadow to enhance the form which is otherwise entirely revealed by line. In fact, Ingres' skillful use of line almost precludes the need for color. This does not mean, however, that Ingres could not utilize color with skill. The Odalisque of 1814, for example, reveals an exquisite sense of color. It is more than a design tinted with color. It is an array of rich tones and colors which only serve to enhance the supporting linear substructure, which, it appears, was Ingres' primary concern. In much of his work Ingres subordinated painting to drawing or united them into a harmonious whole, yet one always has the feeling that the lines are there and that the color can in no way exceed pre-established linear patterns and structures. As such, Ingres shows himself to be very representative of a generation of artists and writers who could not deny the classical tradition but could not accept wholeheartedly the innovations of their contemporaries. We have seen how Ingres belongs to the classical tradition. To understand Ingres' use of nineteenth century artistic innovations (color, thematic romanticism etc.) is to understand his modernity. That, however, is beyond the scope of this paper.

*Your analyzing individual works is good. Trye hard
look at the Dream of Ossian to see if Ingres here
defines forms by lines or if he has done something else.
A -*

"In everyday life I was usually bored and vexed by the things that people were always telling me I must do . . . When I started to paint I felt transported into a kind of paradise."

Henri Matisse

1133

A BIBLIOGRAPHY COMPILED
FOR THE STUDY OF
THE INDEFINITE AND PARTITIVE ARTICLES

S. Robert Powell
F601
December 20, 1968

Serious, thorough work.

*Your topic was the evolution of these articles;
the organization of Part II should have reflected
this historical interest. Works in Part II cited
in I could have been entered much more concisely.
(See further comments below)*

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and partitive articles was
for the course on the history
of the French language.

“A thing derided is a
thing dead; a laughing
man is stronger than
a suffering man.”

Gustave Flaubert

The indefinite and partitive articles

1146

1. Ad une spece li roveret tolir lo chief

2. <u>Singular</u>	<u>masq.</u>	<u>fen.</u>
cas sujet	uns	une
cas régime	un	une

<u>Plural</u>		
cas sujet	uns	unes
cas régime	uns	unes

3. Cuers qui gist en la viellege ne pense pas a la jonece ne au voloir de jone eage.

Uns chevaliers de Cornuaille le roi apele isnelement.

Seignor, oiez et escoutez un fablel.

4. S'annie volés avoir. . . .

Avés vous dont borse trovée?

5. Ne m'avez de mot mentit.

Talent n'ai d'ami avoir.

6. Il a unes botes qui ont trois ou quatre ans; et ont esté apareillees par bas tant que ce qui souloit estre aux genoulx est au milieu de la jambe. Il a une esperons du temps au roy Oloutaire et une robe de parement qui a bien dix ans.

7. Est che nient uns a uns vers dras, roilles d'une vermeille roie? (N'est-ce pas un individu avec des vêtements verts rayés d'une raie vermeille?)

Et avoit unes grandes loes et un grandisme nes plat et unes grans narines lees et unes grosses levres plus rouges d'une carbounée et une grans dens gaunes et lais, et estoit cauciés d'uns housiars et d'uns saillers de buef.

8. Li un sor les autres sommeillent, li autre parolent et veillent.

9. vitas pars--a part of life

magna pars hominum--a great part of mankind

10. edere panem--acc.

edere panis--gen.

edere de pane--de --ablative

11. Il acate mort piesson

S'acate bonne viande

Amistés porte ten seigneur de par mi

Quand les tables furent ostees dont furent paroles contees.

Or a ci duel et grant anguisse (Voici du chagrin et de l'anxiété)

12. Avoir pitié/ tirer profit etc.

Loup n'engendre pas brébis. Chien en vie vaut mieux que lion mort.

Diderot: "Et à quoi diable vouléz-vous donc qu'on emploie son argent, si ce n'est à avoir bonne table, bons vins, belles femmes, plaisirs de toutes les couleurs, amusements de toutes les especes."

La Fontaine: "Il avait vu sortir gibier de toute sorte."

Rabelais: "Les chaps fourrez sont bestes moult horribles."

13. E voit assez gent amasee qui a grant merveille l'esgardent.

Pors et bues avons assez.

Einz est bien droiz que il ait dames e chevaliers assez.

14. E voit gent amasee qui a grant merveille l'esgardent.

Pors et bues avons.

Einz est bien droiz que il ait dames e chevaliers.

15. Assez avra chascuns del suen.

Il verse en la cope d'argent del vin assez qui n'estoit pas troblez.

16. Chascun avra del suen

Il verse en la cope d'argent del vin qui n'estoit pas troblez.

17. Si me donnés de l'argent.

18. Ha! biaux dous fuis, sées vous cois, ou vous arés des enviaus.

(Ah! beau dour fils! tenez-vous tranquille ou vous aïrez des enviaus)

19. De contredit n'i avra point. (Il n'y aura pas ombre d'opposition).

20. . . . et de bon vin fort à son gré.

Un bourgeois qui sot parler de mains langages. . .

21. Il eurent akaté des nouvelles viandes a metre en leur nes.

22. Vaugelas: "Il y a d'excellens hommes."

- A. des bas-reliefs, des belles-mères, des chauves-souris
- B. du petit lait, du bon sens, des jeunes gens, des petite pois
- C. de la pure folie, de la bonne foi, de la mauvaise humeur

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1149

STRUCTURAL AND STYLISTIC MANIFESTATIONS
OF THE GOTHIC AESTHETIC IN LA VIE DE SAINTE MARGUERITE.
LA CONCEPTION NOTRE-DAME, AND LA VIE DE SAINT NICOLAS OF WADE

S. Robert Powell

April 21, 1969

A-
well executed paper
mature style + perspective
We'll talk about it

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INTRODUCTION

The literature and art of an age are, by virtue of the similar political, social and religious factors that caused their creation, often closely related. In artistic movements such as Romanticism in the nineteenth century in France, the interrelationships and parallels among the creative arts are clearly seen. They are, however, more difficult to perceive in artistic movements in which the representative manifestations in each of the creative arts do not readily appear as reducible to the common denominator of a single style. Such were the artistic and literary movements in France from the second quarter of the twelfth century to the end of the thirteenth century. During that historical period every aspect of society underwent, in varying degrees, a radical change. It was a change which would reach its political conclusion in the great medieval synthesis of the twelfth century, the organic fusion of church and state, and its sociological climax in the re-emergence of a wholly urban culture which not only recognized, but also acknowledged the vital importance of the bourgeoisie as a constituent of that ^{social} societal order. Yet, before such a societal evolution would occur, art and literature would experience a series of evolutions which have been labeled by literary and art historians as follows: Romanesque architecture, late Romanesque architecture, Gothic art and architecture, courtly literature of the Middle Ages, bourgeois literature of the twelfth

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century, the religious literature of the Middle Ages, and epic literature of the Middle Ages, to mention only a few. This traditional and fragmentary approach to the creative arts obscures, and, in many cases, denies the presence of similarities in style and structure among the creative arts of a particular age. Such is the case with the numerous vernacular adaptations of Latin lives of saints written in the twelfth century, particularly those of Wace, and the most significant architectural achievement of that age, the Gothic cathedral. Both of these achievements in the creative arts are phenomena of the twelfth century, in France, both clearly represent a desire to cast off the parochialism of a preceding age, both represent a synthetic impulse in the creative arts, and both were created, for the most part, by men who were fully aware of the dramatic societal evolution taking place around them in twelfth-century France. Yet these two manifestations in the creative arts, Gothic architecture and lives of saints in the vernacular, are traditionally considered to be separate and unrelated phenomena. It is the contention of this essay that they are not unrelated artistic movements.

This is a
period which
will need
justification

In an attempt to demonstrate that they were, in fact, created with similar structural and stylistic techniques, the principles of art history are useful. This approach is underlined by Helmut Hatzfeld as "imperative in those cases where literary texts may contain structural and stylistic elements which would

perhaps remain obscure without the elucidation of the arts of design." ¹ A precise understanding, then, of the structural and stylistic principles of that architecture described by art historians as Gothic is essential in order to understand the structural and stylistic techniques utilized by the authors of lives of saints in the twelfth century. Only through such an approach can a valid correlation of the fine arts in any historical period ~~can~~ be made. This study may show that the lives of saints composed in the twelfth century by Wace are constructed on the basis of aesthetic principles not unlike those utilized by architects during that same historical period.

TOWARD A DEFINITION OF THE GOTHIC IN ARCHITECTURE

Gothic architecture as a historical phenomenon has been clearly defined. It represents the artistic efforts of a vast group of artists and craftsmen in France during the period extending from the second quarter of the twelfth century to the end of the thirteenth century. Yet to consider Gothic architecture solely as a historical phenomenon is, in a sense, to deny its essence. Gothic architecture is, at the same time, an aesthetic phenomenon which, coinciding with the historical phenomenon of the Gothic in architecture, produced an eternal moment in art. In other words, the principal artists responsible for the creation of Gothic architecture utilized, in the creation of their art, the aesthetic of the Gothic style during the historical period that is generally considered by art historians as the age of the Gothic style in architecture. Absence of such correlation is called a mannerism. A writer such as Gide, for example, utilized what has been called the "classical" aesthetic in a historical period which is not generally considered by literary historians as being "the Age of Classicism." ² Gide, therefore, does not represent the phenomenon of classicism in French literature in its entirety since the historical and aesthetic phenomena of classicism do not coincide. As such, the "classicism" of Gide is not pure, that is, it does not represent the classicism of the seventeenth century since it has been colored by the historical difference.

If the creative arts are indeed an authentic representation of a particular society, then they must illustrate accurately and dynamically the society from which they emerge. They must, in other words, represent that society's world view. Given the fact that each historical period is characterized by primarily one world view, it is the task of the cultural historian to analyze that complex of societal attitudes and beliefs in order to better understand not only that society but also the creative arts which emerged from it. Much of the confusion that has resulted in writing the history of the creative arts is caused, it can be argued, by the erroneous belief that several totally distinct and unrelated bases for art can exist simultaneously. That is to say, given a particular historical period, it is erroneous to consider that period as being characterized by two or more wholly unrelated world views. The seventeenth century in France is a good example. Literary historians have chosen to refer to that period as "the Age of Classicism." Art historians, on the other hand, have chosen to consider that period as "the Age of French Baroque." The contradiction raised by these two apparently conflicting points of view only serves to make it more clear that one or both of these schools of thought is in error. Any period in history can be characterized by only one valid basis for artistic production; otherwise we are dealing with a mannerism, as is the case with Gide. Gide's so-called "classicism" is based on a world view that was representative of a past historical

Perhaps there can be only one "gist" which characterizes a given period, but there could be several styles and even many which elements are called mannerism - which

such as B. Spinoza's "high baroque" of Racine? Or so there may room for both in that each refers to a different aspect? I would like to discuss

ical period. [It is, for that reason, static and conventional and not dynamic and "contemporary".] *This I would have to oppose - I would use the terms static & conventional. Definitively here - that one stands in*

Gothic architecture, on the other hand, represents an *contrast which we can make when we think of the dynamic* eternal moment in art in that both the aesthetic and historical phenomena of the Gothic coincide. Fundamental to the aesthetic *who are in fashion* of the Gothic in architecture is a tendency toward synthesis. *we should talk about this* This is directly related to the political and social situation in France at that time. Gothic architecture, as will be demonstrated, is an attempt to deal effectively with that society.

During the early years of the twelfth century the four principal elements of French society--the king and his court, the church, the feudal nobility and the bourgeoisie--were, for the most part, highly antagonistic toward each other. Arthur Kingsley Porter's account of the founding of the commune of Laon demonstrates clearly the fragmentary and hostile nature of early twelfth-century society in France. He states:

In 1111 the town of Laon rose against its bishop. Isolated on their steep rock the inhabitants of this city lived amid constant civil war and class hatred; noble held bourgeois for ransom, bourgeois robbed and pillaged peasant. The king himself was not safe in this strange town. Gaudri, bishop of Laon, was blessed with a character almost as pleasant as that of his people. He treated his townsmen as serfs, thought only of war and hunting, and always appeared in public followed by a negro slave who was his official executioner. To dispose of a baron who annoyed him this Christian prelate did not hesitate to have him assassinated in a church.

Profiting by the absence of Gaudri in England the bourgeois bought from the clergy and nobles the privilege of forming a corporation. When the bishop returned and learned of this transaction, he was furious; but he was

-7-

appeased by a large sum of money, and even swore to protect the commune. Louis VI, also well paid, confirmed the charter.

The following year the King happened to come to Laon, and Gaudri planned to improve the opportunity afforded by his presence to destroy the commune. The bourgeois discovered the plot, and offered Louis 400 pounds to remain faithful to his promise; but the bishop offered him 700 to break it. The last bid being higher the commune was abolished. At this, the popular indignation not unnaturally ran high. The king found it prudent to slip out of the town before daybreak. At sunrise bands of bourgeois armed with swords and axes rushed upon the episcopal palace, and massacred all within. Then the tumult extended, the houses of nobles and clergy were attacked, and the inmates escaped only by disguising themselves and taking flight. Fire and pillage followed; the cathedral church was burned to the ground.

The murder of a bishop could not be left unavenged. The royal army accordingly marched against the revolted city and took it by storm. Then it was the turn of the nobles and clergy to massacre the bourgeois. Finally the peasants of the neighborhood swarmed into the ruined town and pillaged the deserted houses. The commune was wiped out in blood. Sixteen years later, however, it was reestablished.³

Clearly a policy was needed that would allay the social and spiritual unrest that was caused by societal fragmentation in the early years of the twelfth century. That policy was, in part, formulated when the king and certain bishops acknowledged the great power of the bourgeoisie: "The first step toward the development of a policy of unification was taken when the king and the bishops in the Royal Domain decided to support the demands of the burghers against the feudal aristocracy, both secular and monastic."⁴ The implementation of this new policy was, for the most part, entrusted to the Abbot Suger, a personal

friend and advisor of Louis VI and Louis VII, an architect, and a particularly adept political administrator. Largely through his efforts, the new ideal of unity and stabilization of the fragmented and antagonistic elements of twelfth-century society was realized in the construction of cathedrals. It is for this reason that the origins and development of Gothic architecture are inextricably tied to the political and social developments of the twelfth century.

The alignment of the king and the bishops in the Royal Domain with the burghers, as we have seen, resulted in the restoration of a stable social structure. The most tangible result of this new alignment is the Gothic cathedral, a structure erected to the glory of God which, at the same time, served a useful secular function. The construction of a Gothic cathedral affirmed the attitudes and beliefs of those societal groups responsible for its creation and, perhaps without their realizing it, united them into a cohesive whole. Each of these groups could gain satisfaction from the combined efforts of all: "The cathedrals were constructed by wage-earning craftsmen and were designed to appeal to their pride of city and taste for fine and costly craftsmanship. At the same time they declared unmistakably the absolute primacy of the church and its bishop in the life of the city and affirm the sacral nature of monarchy."⁵ The cathedrals were, then, symbols of political, religious and social unity.

Nowhere is this unity more clearly expressed than in the doorways of the new churches. This is best understood when we

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compare the doorway of a Gothic cathedral with one of a Romanesque church. Norris Smith gives the following description of the Romanesque doorway of the church of Saint Lazare at Autun in Burgundy:

Apocalyptic themes are frequently depicted in the sculptured tympana of Romanesque doorways. The most telling of these subjects was the Last Judgement, in which the separation of the damned from the elect could be rendered with exorciating delight. By far the most powerful representation of the subject is on the entrance to the church of S. Lazare in Burgundy. The image is dominated by a frontal and implacable figure of Christ, who offers us a choice between heaven on his right and hell on his left. It would have been logical and conventional for the sculptor to have shown the weighing of the souls in the center of the image, however, for this sculptor the struggle between angels and devils for possession of the essentially Jeckyll-and Hyde-ish souls of men was too important an aspect of the theme to be consigned to the fringes of his image; and so he puts the scales on Christ's left, where the weighing occupies more than half of the area that would otherwise have been given over to the torments of the wicked. The tympanum abounds in thrusting, jutting, angular, unstable forms; not the hell scene only but the entire relief seems to flicker in seething torment before our eyes.⁶

The ultimate effect on the observer viewing this Romanesque doorway is hardly one of communion and unity. It is, rather, segregation and disunity. This effect is explained by Norris Smith in the following manner:

The doorway is the point at which one steps within the frame of the building itself, passing from the infinite diversity and precariousness of the temporal world into the precincts of an institution that claimed to transcend that world and to make available to man an eternal serenity. It would appear from the sculptural evidence that the choice between terrestrial turbulence and paradisiacal repose was not an easy one for the Christian

to make; for the doorway is interpreted more often as a point of crisis than of juncture, of separation than of union." 7

In complete antithesis to the Romanesque doorway described above is the Gothic doorway of the Cathedral at Chartres, which clearly expresses a notion of unity and synthesis. Smith, in his discussion of the Royal Portals of the Cathedral at Chartres, remarks:

One of the evident concerns of the Gothic artist was to achieve an ideal amalgamation of the courtly and the liturgical. Though the Royal Portals at Chartres, and indeed the entire cathedral, are involved in that defense, the message is conveyed most incisively in the tympanum, archivolt and lintel of the right-hand portal of the west facade. In the tympanum we see the Virgin and Child regally enthroned between angels. The nativity scene below is handled in such a way as to stress the Eucharistic aspect of the Incarnation. 8

The effect on the observer of these portals, particularly the tympana, is in no way menacing and parochial. Instead, the observer actually feels himself to be a part of the church and to be encompassed by it even before he passes through the frame and enters the church:

The Gothic portal is a preparatory scene; it affirms, not the separation of the church from the world; but rather the possibility of an ideal and harmonious union between the two, between the Christian's life in the world and his membership within an order of things that both embraces and transcends this life. By the time one reaches the doors of the church one is already encompassed by the building and by its patterns of congregation and communion. 9

The doorways of the Gothic cathedrals, then, are the expression of unity. The twelfth-century Christian, as he stood before the Gothic cathedrals, must have felt himself to be an integral part

of such structures. They were, in all probability, structures partially built during his lifetime and, most likely, partly through his efforts. They were, in short, twelfth-century churches intended for all twelfth-century Christians. Hauser's remarks on this point are significant: "Art is no longer the private language of a thin stratum of initiates, but a mode of expression that is understood almost universally. Christianity itself is no longer a religion of the clergy, but develops more and more decidedly into a mass religion, it is humanized and emotionalized." ¹⁰ Thomas Jackson, in his discussion of church interiors, similarly emphasizes the universal aspect of twelfth-century Christianity: "Unlike the conventional Romanesque church, from the principal parts of which laymen were rigidly excluded, the Gothic cathedral was open to all, a building in which the burgher could take pride as being his own." ¹¹ This is just one further illustration of the universal and synthetic aspect of Gothic architecture.

*I am not
sure that
this is a
correct
interpretation*

Gothic architecture is also, however, particularizing and analytic. This aspect of Gothic architecture is best represented in the sculpture which adorns the portals of the Gothic cathedrals. Gothic portal sculpture, unlike that of the Romanesque, is the expression of a relative point of view which requires that individual figures be particularized. Hauser underlines this quality of Gothic portal sculpture in his discussion of the figures on the west portal of Chartres:

Gothic naturalism manifests itself in the representation of human form. In this field we meet everywhere a thoroughly new conception of art and one radically opposed to the stereotyping abstractions of Romanesque sculpture. Interest is now completely centered upon the individual and the characteristic; the freshness, vitality, and directness of Gothic portraits is already to be found to some extent in the figures on the west portal of Chartres. They are so accurately drawn that we feel sure that they must have been studies of actual living models. ¹²

The importance of this tendency toward particularization in Gothic architecture cannot be overstressed. In acknowledging the particular qualities of individuals, twelfth century man necessarily adopted a relative and temporal point of view.

Arnold Hauser observes: "For even to recognize that there are individuals is to open the door to individualism and relativism and to imply at least a partial dependence of truth upon the temporal and mutable facts of the world." ¹³ This emphasis in Gothic architecture upon the temporal and the relative is not, however, to be interpreted as a rejection of the absolute. *the necessity of such a conclusion is doubtful*

Gothic architecture, like the political policies of the Abbot Suger, represents a dialectic between the absolute and the relative, the atemporal and the temporal. In political terms this dialectic implies a reaffirmation of the essential hierarchic structure of French society according to the criteria of the twelfth century. The political changes effected by the Abbot Suger were in no way revolutionary. Instead, his policy was one of reaffirmation. Norris Smith makes the following remarks about the policy of Suger:

Plainly a policy was needed that would restore the pre-eminence of the episcopate within the church, that would strengthen the hand of the king against the separatist tendencies of the aristocracy, that would reaffirm the sacred and priestly nature of kingship, and that would win the favor of the rebellious burghers. Thanks to Suger that policy began to take shape in the 1120's and 30's. Its main emphasis was on gaining a consensus, upon achieving unity and agreement, upon allaying the social and spiritual disturbances of the "renaissance of the twelfth century". In the jargon of our day, we might say that what was needed was a new image, both of the monarchy and of the episcopacy. A new image but not a revolution; the policy was essentially one of institutional stabilization. ^{II}

In terms of religious architecture this dialectic implies a reaffirmation of the fundamental tenets of Catholicism. In an earlier historical period these dogmas were embodied in Romanesque churches. They would now be embodied in Gothic cathedrals, that is, they would be interpreted by twelfth-century men. Accordingly, Catholicism was humanized and emotionalized. The essential hierarchic structure of Catholicism remained. However, all men were now allowed to participate in that structure and were ranked according to their participation. Hauser observes:

Everything real, however slight and ephemeral, now has an immediate relationship with God; everything expresses the divine nature in its own way and so has its own value and meaning. Things claim attention only as manifestations of God and are ranked--according to the degree of their participation in God--in a hierarchy. The conception of a God wholly independent of the world gives way to that of a divine power working in created things. The God who "impelled from without" corresponds to the aristocratic world view of early feudalism; the God who is present and working in all the orderings of nature corresponds to the attitude of a more liberal world. ¹⁵

It follows, then, that upward movement within this spiritual hierarchy is now possible: "The metaphysical hierarchy of things

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still reflects a society that is built up of estates, but the liberalism of the age already voices itself in the conception that even the lowest stage of being is in its own way indispensable. Formerly an unbridgeable gulf separated the estates, but now they have contact with one another." ¹⁶ This new attitude is clearly reflected in all fields of life: "Everywhere we sense a universalistic, international, cosmopolitan trend of affairs. In contrast with the stability of the early Middle Ages, a large part of the population is constantly on the move; knights undertake crusades, the faithful pilgrimages, merchants journey from town to town, artists and artisans roam from one building-site to another." ¹⁷

In Gothic architecture this tendency toward movement is clearly expressed in the portal sculpture. It is wholly analogous in effect to the movement of knights, burghers, merchants, and artisans mentioned above. Smith explains this tendency toward movement in Gothic sculpture as follows: "The Romanesque statue is, more often than not, confined within an architectural frame. The portal figures of the Gothic cathedral are not separated from one another by the architecture but seem, instead, to form a warmly human group and to occupy the portal space in much the same manner as do the members of the congregation who contemplate them from the pavement below." ¹⁸

Nowhere is this tendency toward movement more noticeable than in the interiors of the Gothic cathedrals. Hauser's comparison of a Romanesque interior with a Gothic interior clearly

underlines this quality of Gothic architecture:

The interior of the Romanesque church is a self-contained, stationary space that permits the eye of the spectator to rest and remain in perfect passivity. A gothic cathedral, on the contrary, seems to be in the process of development, as if it were rising up before our very eyes. It expresses a process and not a result. The resolution of the whole mass into a number of forces, the dissolution of all that is rigid and at rest by means of a dialectic of functions and subordinations, this ebb and flood, circulation and transformation of energy, gives us the impression of a dramatic conflict working up to a decision before our very eyes; and this dynamic effect is so overwhelming that beside it all else seems a mere means to this end. ¹⁹

The aesthetic principles upon which Gothic architecture is founded are, then, a direct reflection of the complex of societal attitudes and beliefs of the historical period during which the Gothic style developed. It has been through a study of those beliefs and attitudes that it has been possible to determine the uniqueness of Gothic architecture. It is an architecture based on a dialectic between a clearly defined and hierarchic concept of order and a freedom from that order. It is hierarchic in that it is synthetic and restorative. It is unstructured and free in that it upholds a concept of particularization and relativity. To understand this dialectic is, in effect, to understand not only Gothic architecture, but also the historical period during which it was created.

*it is not
me that this
could be
reflected
in any other
terms to
justify
such an
assumption
[meaning]*

The success of the Gothic style in architecture can hardly be questioned. The structural and stylistic principles represented therein, in all probability, were utilized in other creative arts produced in that historical period, particularly

in literature. Only an examination in detail of representative literary texts of that period can verify this hypothesis. For the purposes of this demonstration we will examine in detail the vernacular lives of saints written by Wace in the twelfth century: La Vie de sainte Marguerite, La Conception Notre-Dame, and La Vie de saint Nicolas.

LITERARY REPRESENTATIONS OF THE AESTHETIC AND STYLISTIC PRINCIPLES OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE

In the early years of the twelfth century there was, as has been demonstrated, a general societal reorientation of thought. The religious literature created during that historical period, like the Gothic cathedral, clearly reflects that change. The most immediate result in literature is the use of the vernacular. The Gothic cathedral, it will be recalled, was a structure built through the combined efforts of all elements of society. It was, therefore, not intended as the exclusive possession of a spiritual elite, as were the Romanesque churches, but as the property of all those societal elements who participated in its construction. It was, in other words, open and comprehensible to all. Similarly, the vernacular lives of Saint Marguerite, the Virgin, and Saint Nicolas by Wace were comprehensible to all.²⁰ Wace, according to Mary Crawford, was one of the first writers to use the vernacular in writing the lives of saints: "Few provinces were so fortunate as Normandy in having an early historian of such talent as Wace. His great importance is due to the fact that instead of writing in Latin like the other educated men of his day, he was among the first and ablest to introduce the vernacular, which gained for him a much larger audience."²¹ Wace, himself, states his reason for writing the lives of saints in the vernacular in the preface to La Vie de saint Nicolas:

En romanz voil dire un petit
 De ceo que nus le latin dit,
 Que li lai le puissent aprendre,
 Qui ne poent latin entendre. (41-44)

The audiences for whom Wace wrote these vernacular lives of saints are of an entirely different nature than those for whom the Latin lives of saints were written. George Perkins Marsh, in his study of medieval and modern saints and miracles, states:

The Latin lives of saints were designed, not like the Gospels, for general circulation or for the conversion of the people, but for the instruction and edification of the professional priesthood. They were, in short, what were technically called "legends," that is, writings intended and appointed to be read publicly and privately by the regular clergy. The term "legend" originally embraced a considerable part of the ordinary church service, but in common use it was afterward restricted to narratives of the lives and miracles of saints and martyrs, which, as well as all ascetic treatises, were read aloud to monks and nuns when assembled for instruction, more especially during the hour of reflection and they were much used in private study in the monastic cells.²²

Not only were the lives of saints by Wace in the vernacular, but they were also in verse. This is further evidence of the fact that they were intended for lay audiences. In verse, as J. D. M. Ford has determined, they were more comprehensible, particularly for an illiterate audience: "In the Romance form the lives of saints have acquired a new vitality and have found access to the simple and naïve souls for whom their authors had intended them. The rhymed form imposed itself once it was a question of works meant to be sung or recited before an illiterate public."²³ Evidence of the fact that the vernacular

lives of saints were intended to be presented orally is found in the poems themselves. Wace begins the prologue to La Conception Notre-Dame in the following manner:

Se aucuns est cui Dieu ait chier,
Sa parole et son mestier,
Vienge oïr que je dirai:
Ja d'un seul mot n'i mentirai. (1-4)

The invitation--Come hear what I will say, never will I lie-- is seen by Paul John Jones as one of the ~~most~~ outstanding characteristics of French lives of saints: *Outstanding is already superlative*

The prologues to the lives show, for the most part, that the poems were intended to be read aloud. The formula, "Listen, and may God bless you for it, be quiet now, come nearer and listen to what I say, never will I lie," is so general in the prologues that it is hardly necessary to give further quotations. As a matter of fact, it is found in about two-thirds of all French lives of saints. Apparently the lives in verse were definitely designed for oral transmission. ²⁴

Further evidence of the fact that Wace was attempting to communicate effectively with all members of his audiences is seen in his reworking of the Latin texts with respect to the clarity and logic of the presentation as written in Latin. Elizabeth Francis has determined that Wace made many revisions of the logic in the Latin text of La Vie de sainte Marguerite:

Le poème de Wace reproduit, souvent presque textuellement, la version latine. Mais nous constatons de la part du poète une préoccupation de bien ordonner les idées et de bien présenter la matière fournie par le texte latin. La composition de la version latine est marquée par un trait spécial, le grand nombre de prières faites par la sainte, qui figurent tout au long dans le récit. C'est d'ordinaire dans les passages consacrés aux prières et aux dialogues que l'auteur de la version latine s'exprime confusément et se répète. On ne s'étonnera pas que ce soit précisément à ces endroits que le poète français cherche à resserrer ou à étendre sa matière. Lorsqu'il lui arrive

d'amplifier une phrase, une idée, il précise ce qui dans la version latine demeure vague; il en complète et fait ressortir la pensée. En dernier lieu il se réserve la liberté d'éclairer le texte latin, de substituer des expressions bien définies aux expressions obscures, de ranger les idées selon un ordre logique; en un mot le poème français est l'œuvre d'un traducteur qui sait composer. ²⁵

Communication is also facilitated by Wace's constant use of repetition and restatement. This stylistic technique is particularly useful in the oral presentation of a narrative. Not only does it orient those who may have come late to the oral presentation but also it clarifies the narrative for those listeners who may have experienced some difficulty in following the sequence of events. According to Elinar Ronsjø, repetition is one of the characteristic features of Wace's style: "Les répétitions resteront toujours chez Wace un trait caractéristique dont il se sert fréquemment dans ses ouvrages." ²⁶ In La Conception Notre-Dame, for example, there are sixty-two cases of repetition of complete sentences. La Vie de saint Nicolas contains forty-one. These repetitions are deliberate. In using them Wace made his poetry more accessible and comprehensible for his lay audiences. The effect on the reader of these repetitions is wholly analagous to the Gothic concept of congregation and communion which, in effect, makes Christianity a religion of the people, and not only the spiritual elite. Wace's message is available to all in much the same manner that the entire Gothic cathedral is open to all.

I like
the point
very much.
but am not
sure that the
analogy is
specific enough
to show a real
relationship.

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Repetition is not the only stylistic technique capable of producing this effect. It can also be achieved by the use of synonyms juxtaposed. The desired effect of such juxtaposition was, in all probability, greater clarity and precision in that the auditor's attention has been called to a particular quality or action which the author feels to be significant. The following examples, from La Vie de sainte Marguerite, illustrate Wace's use of this technique:

Ancele Peu fu et espouse (16)

Par les costés et par les .lans (192)

Que je puisse ma chastée
Garder et ma virginité (247-248)

Mais jo te pri tant et requier
Qui de ta main ne m'atouchier. (483-484)

This type of repetition, as Elinar Ronsjø has determined, can be valuable in an oral presentation: "Ce genre de répétition ne porte pas préjudice au style. L'alignement de deux synonymes constitue un moyen excellent de faire ressortir un mot--le plus souvent le verbe--pour accentuer davantage l'emphase voulue par l'auteur et pour rendre le récit plus vif, plus mouvementé." 27

Excellent point

Closely related to the two preceding techniques utilized by Wace, is that of summation, actually a kind of repetition, which, like the juxtaposed synonyms and the repetition of complete sentences, insures clarity. The most remarkable use of this technique in the lives of saints by Wace is in La Conception Notre-Dame. Before presenting the parentage and death

Guasce ot non cil qui fist l'escrit
Qui de sainte Marie a dit
Comment conceüe et criée,
Comment ele fu anonciée,
Com faitement ele fu née
Et au temple as trois anz portée.
Puis oistes qu'iluec servi
Tant que XIIIII anz acomplï,
Comment par cui Joseph la prist,
Qui ja avoir ne la queïst.
Puis oistes le mariage,
Et le salu et le mesage
Que li angles li aporta,
Quant li Fiuz Dieu s'i aombra
En la cité de Nazareth.
Pui oistes d'Elizabeth
Qui sainte Marie recut,
Quant cil del ventre s'escommut.
Or dirons, à la Dieu aie,
Comment oïssi de ceste vie
Quant Diex l'en fist el ciel mener;
Mais premierement veil conter
Un petit de son parenté,
Dont maintes genz auront douté. (1220-1244)

Summaries such as the preceding, as well as repetitions and juxtaposed synonyms, are used in the lives of saints of Wace, to produce, it can be argued, a Gothic effect. These stylistic techniques, as used by Wace, help to make the lives of the saints more accessible and comprehensible to twelfth-century men. The effect produced is wholly analagous to that produced by the doorways of a Gothic Cathedral. In both instances it is a feeling of communion and congregation.

A similar effect is produced, both in Gothic architecture ^{closer} and in the lives of the saints, by the use of purely secular ^{stylistically} material as a means of elucidation. Gothic architecture, it will ^{than any} feature ^{which would} result in the same ^{end -}

be recalled, frequently utilized secular material in order to express its synthetic and liberal nature, particularly in portal sculpture and in stained glass windows. All matter, it was felt, could be useful in the service of God. André S. Blum verifies this as follows: "Not only the holy books and pious legends furnished the subjects for Gothic decorations, but we see moral allegories, vices and virtues, and the seasons and months personified; the signs of the zodiac and agricultural and industrial occupations." ²⁸ Wace, in two remarkable passages in La Conception ^{what do you mean by liberal? Moral comprehension} Notre-Dame, similarly utilized secular references to clarify concepts for his twelfth century audience. The first is used in Wace's explanation of the Immaculate Conception. He compares the Virgin to a verrière: ^{yes but this scarcely a feature of the Gothic period alone - but and true of Renaissance architecture is true, but that does not mean that this was not manifest in lit. etc. - i.e. the architecture is only one doorway to the period - One risks going astray by looking at the heavens through a stationary telescope. Everyone of the items above was prevalent throughout the Middle Ages}

Bien puet virge faire enfanter
Et sa virginité garder.
Une semblance vos dirai:
Issi con li soulauz son rai
Par la verriere met et trait,
Qu'à la verriere mal ne fait:
Issi et mult plus soutillement,
Entra et issi chastement
En Nostre Dame le fil Dé,
Pour garder sa virginité.
Virge concut, virge enpreigna,
Virge porta, virge enfanta,
Virge alaita, virge nori,
Virge remest, virge veschi,
En terre virge conversa,
De cest mont virge trespasa,
Virge en ala à son Seignor,
A son fil, à son criator. (1140-1158)

The second is utilized by Wace to explain the significance of Notre-Dame as a guiding and directing principle in this world. Notre-Dame is compared to the North Star. All men are seen as

sailors lost at sea at night:

En li doit l'en avoir torné
Et son corage et son pensé.
Con cil qui doit aler par mer,
Garde as estoilles de la mer
Une estoile qui ne se muet:
Qui connoistre la set et puet,
En son cors par lui gouverner,
Ne puet pas en mer esgarer.
Ceste estoile nos seneffie
Nostre dame sainte Marie,
Qui est estoile de bonté,
Et de clarté et de biauté,
Qui pure fu, clere et estable,
En nul vice et coulourable.
Cil qui, par nuit, par la mer vont,
Ce sont li homme de cest mont,
Qui en grant commoration,
N'i trueve l'en se travail non.
La nuit seneffie pechié
Qui tost a homme trebuchié;
Pechié fait homme trebuchier
Et aveugler et desvoier.
Ja n'iert fame si pecheriz,
Ne de pechié hom si lasniz,
S'il reclaimme sainte Marie
De bon cuer, qu'il n'en ait aie. (1168-1194).

but these comparisons
could be traced to
a much earlier
period

Wace's use of these two comparisons, as well as the techniques
earlier described--repetition, juxtaposed synonyms, summaries--
are all manifestations of the Gothic world view. As a result
of Wace's use of these techniques, the lives of the saints were
made accessible and comprehensible to all twelfth-century
Christians. The remarks of Arnold Hauser are so significant
with reference to the Gothic concept of accessibility, that they
are worthy of repetition: "Art is no longer the private language
of a thin stratum of initiates, but a mode of expression that
is understood almost universally. Christianity itself is no
longer a religion of the clergy, but develops more and more as
a mass religion." 29

These are
devices
used in
other areas
& cultures

the concept
of these words
being accessible
to the masses
requires some
explanation

In addition to the techniques mentioned above, Wace has achieved, by the addition of many particularizing details to the Latin texts which served him as models, what can be called a Gothic effect. The two miracles added by Wace in La Vie de saint Nicolas, that of the strangled child and that of the child who boiled to death in a pan of water, are good examples. By adding these two miracles to the already known list of miracles attributed to Saint Nicholas, Wace was able to particularize and make temporal. the saint for his twelfth-century listeners. His listeners, in fact, were able to see glimpses of their own lowly lives in Wace's poem:

La ostesce v il aveit ju
 Son enfant enz al bain guerpie
 Que desur le feu fet aueit
 De tere al cel tens feseit lom
 Vn tes veissel par pan aueit non. (161-165)

E li enfes qui dedenz fu
 Eut le cors tendre et nu. (172-173)

En vn petit batel se mist
 A vne nief nager se fist (382-383)

Vne nascele i unt troue
 Qui oes de la nief apela
 Corteisement od els parla (408-409)

The effect of such passages on a twelfth-century audience was, as Marsh has determined, entirely positive: "The lives of the saints were all more or less stamped with the character and costume of their own age and with the local color of the country of their composition. A circumstance which rendered them especially acceptable as well as credible to the contemporary world and secured for them both a wide circulation and afterward a gradual

recognition by the faithful as authentic records." ³⁰ These particularizing details, in many respects, transform the lives of the saints into social histories. In speaking of the pilgrims on their way to Myre to celebrate the feast of Saint Nicholas, Crawford remarks: "These are bright pictures of a real society. Thus nuns, merchants, robbers, prisoners, money lenders and clerks all come in turn to offer a realistic picture of twelfth century life." ³¹ In this respect, the vernacular lives of the saints by Wace are in sharp contrast with the Latin texts which served as models for Wace. In the Latin texts particularizing details, for the most part, were considered to be of no value. This is explained by Hauser in the following manner: "Feudal culture, which is essentially anti-individualistic, favors the general and the homogenous in art and in other fields, and strives for a representation of the world in which everything is stereotyped." ³² Stereotypes and abstractions, however, were not enough for the twelfth-century Christian who was becoming more and more aware of himself as an individual. Wace clearly fulfilled his listeners' desires for particularizing details in that he has humanized not only the saint but also the individual pilgrims who journey to Myre. Those pilgrims are clearly linked to a particular nation and to a particular historical period--indeed to a particular day, the Feast of Saint Nicholas. The passage of time, in fact, for the twelfth-century Christian was measured by the feasts of the saints. This particularization and temporalization of the saints

After one would have to judge whether the changes made represented such a cultural change or not.

This is not peculiar to feudal culture alone - in fact, I am not so sure that there is a real cause & effect relationship here - the acceptance of the statement that the remembrance of particular events is added to the calendar (this I would have to see demonstrated from the text)

by twelfth-century Christians is very similar to the treatment by Gothic architects of the portal sculpture of the cathedrals. Gothic portal sculpture, it will be recalled, centers its attention completely upon the individual and the characteristic. Hauser makes the following remarks about one of the figures on the west portal of Chartres: "The kind old man with the look of a peasant, high cheek bones, broad splayed nose, and slanting eyes [must have been personally known to the artist]. The remarkable fact is that the figure is so surprisingly full of character."³³ It is little wonder that the twelfth-century man felt himself to be an integral part of a Gothic cathedral--for him to stand before a Gothic doorway must have been like standing before his contemporaries.

For the twelfth-century man to have felt himself to be an integral part of a Gothic cathedral is clear testimony of the fact that the Gothic had succeeded in accomplishing the goals established for it by the Abbot Suger. The fulfillment of those same goals was also a concern of Wace, a twelfth-century man of letters. The prologue to La Vie de saint Nicolas by Wace is, in this respect, a remarkable passage:

A ces qui n'unt lectres aprises.
Ne lur ententes n'i ont mises,
Deivent li clerc mustrer la le^{te},
Parler des seinz, dire pur quel
Chescone feste est controee,
Chescon a sun jur gardeee.
Chescon ne poet pas tut saver
Ne tut oir ne tut veer.
Li un sunt lai, li un lectré,
Li un fol et li un senee,

This is precisely the kind of criticism which led scholars to say - the archpriest must have been in prison when he wrote these profoundly touching and personal lines - only to be shown by someone less romantically inclined that it was a common topos used hundreds of times in a similar way.

In this prologue Wace's stated goal is the union of all men--li chivaler et li burgeis et li vilein et li corteis--for the service of God. All men, he states, are individuals and each has his own particular qualities which he should fulfill to the best of his ability. Wace, in this prologue, states that he will use his ability to read Latin in order to communicate the lives of the saints to those who cannot understand Latin. These same

You seem to imply that such a concept is new - that there is a new concern for the individual seen here - But this concept is purely biblical - that every man is obliged to develop the talents given him by God - that each one renders homage in his own way the humble thing as worthy as the really talented of the great miracle on which A. France based his "Jongleurs" story & the biblical tale of the old woman who could only give Bl. Vittore so the monks who could only

sentiments are given complete expression in Gothic cathedrals, structures everywhere proclaiming unity and wherein twelfth-century individuals could all freely enter and in the construction of which, each contributed in his own way. Wace, in the prologue to La Vie de saint Nicolas, expresses those same sentiments. The architectural manifestation of those sentiments is the Gothic cathedral.

Notwithstanding the essentially synthetic nature of Gothic architecture, the Gothic is, at the same time, an architecture of incompleteness. This is directly related to the Gothic conception of composition. Hauser explains that theory in the following manner:

a Gothic composition is mainly additive and in this it is far removed from the spatial and temporal unity of classical work. The principle of continuous representation, the inclination to review, as in a film, all the particular phases of an event, the readiness to overlay the "pregnant moment" with an epic wealth of detail--signs of an artistic approach which we first met with in late Roman times and which never quite disappeared throughout the Middle Ages--now comes to the fore again in the cyclical compositions of the Gothic. 34

Yet, inherent in this additive theory, as was demonstrated in an earlier section of this essay, is a concept of motion and incompleteness. Hauser explains the incompleteness and mobility implied by the Gothic as follows:

The interior of a Romanesque church is a self-contained, stationary space that permits the eye of the spectator to rest and remain in perfect passivity. A Gothic church, on the contrary, seems to be in the process of development, as if it were rising up before our very

1180

eyes; it expresses a process and not a result. The resolution of the whole mass into a number of forces, the dissolution of all that is rigid and at rest by means of a dialectic of functions and subordinations, this ebb and flood, circulation and transformation of energy, gives us the impression of a dramatic conflict working up to a decision before our very eyes. And this dynamic effect is so overwhelming that beside it all else seems a mere means to this end. So it comes about that the effect of such a building is not impaired when it is left uncompleted; its appeal and its power are actually increased. 35

The Gothic is, then, a dialectic between the complete and the incomplete. Manifestations of this dialectic are everywhere in the literature of the twelfth century, particularly in that literature associated with what has been called an oral tradition, or at least, oral presentation. The Gothic compositional dialectic, in fact, proves to be a key to understanding the essential structure of the vernacular lives of the saints written by Wace. This is best seen when we compare the Latin lives of the saints, which served as models for Wace's compositions, with the vernacular renderings of Wace. In no case has Wace rejected the body of material provided for him by the Latin hagiographers. In all cases he has assimilated or utilized their material and made his own additions. This is clearly seen in La Vie de saint Nicolas, to which Wace added on two miracles that are not found in the Latin versions. It is almost as though Wace were attempting to complete the work by updating it by adding on the two miracles. Yet the life of a saint, by its very nature, can never be completed. The life of a saint, like a Gothic ca-

But the
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used to
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a visual
impression
It is partially
unauthorized
and should not
be extended -
that the
addition of
detail
parallels the
for intent
for rhetorical
elaboration
and that specific
method of
composition is
undeniable and
precise

thedral, is both temporal and atemporal. A Gothic cathedral participates in time and is affected by the passage of time, yet it is outside of time in its significance. In a like manner, the life of a saint is affected by time since every new generation makes its own additions to the essential body of information supplied to it by tradition, as did Wace in La Vie de saint Nicolas, La Vie de sainte Marguerite, and La Conception Notre-Dame. The life of a saint, however, can never be completed. Each new generation makes the lives of the saints temporal, and in so doing adds particularizing details which are valuable to cultural historians in reconstructing the social history of past historical moments. It is for this reason that the vernacular saints' lives of Wace are of value to us today.

the question of whether they must be made temporal or are continuously temporal is a question - that is, in vernacular placed the literature to a wider audience so Wace's time, given the change in language from the 6th or 7th centuries, but that the two miracles are really evidence of such an interpretation is questionable

This is completely analagous to what was accomplished in the twelfth century by Geoffrey, Bishop of Chartres, who in the 1140's was inspired to begin work on a new façade for his Romanesque church. Just as Wace had redone the lives of the saints for the twelfth century, so, too, was the Romanesque church at Chartres redone. In no way were the twelfth-century revisions meant to refute the essential premises of the Romanesque church--it remained a house of God. The twelfth century wholeheartedly accepted that notion but chose to redo the physical structure of the church for the twelfth-century Christian and his world. The end result

Such a social end to this work is debatable - could not the desire to redo the facade simply be for artistic or aesthetic reasons etc. - that its style is different is not surprising, given the difference

Do you mean that they are worthless as literature? Good literature is quite independent of its documentary value - quite 20th C. just as 19th C. -

is the transformation of a Romanesque church into a Gothic cathedral. This is very similar to the Augustinian appeal to save pagan literature and adapt it to the medieval Christian world. The clearest evidence of the redoing of Chartres is the west façade. Above it are two towers, one is Romanesque, the other Gothic. Wace, in a like manner, rewrote the Latin lives of Saint Marguerite, Saint Nicholas, and the Virgin for the tastes of the twelfth century. Yet the lives of saints are never completed, no more than a Gothic cathedral is ever completed. Both the life of a saint and a Gothic cathedral participate continually in time, yet they exist simultaneously in the atemporality of religious thought. In this respect they are both modern. Hauser gives the following explanation of the modernity in Gothic Architecture:

The modern preference for the unfinished, the sketchy and the fragmentary has its origins here. Since Gothic days all great art, with the exception of a few short lived classicist movements, has something of the fragmentary about it, an inward or outward incompleteness, an unwillingness to utter the last word. There is always something left over for the spectator or the reader to complete. The modern artist shrinks from the last word because he feels the inadequacy of all words--a feeling which we may say was never experienced by man before Gothic times."³⁶

Modernity, then, in the twelfth century has several meanings: sociologically it is institutional stabilization, in literature it is the life of a saint in the vernacular, in architecture it is the Gothic cathedral.

CONCLUSION

The phenomenon in the history of architecture known as the Gothic and the vernacular lives of the saints written by Wace are, then, very similar. Both are constructed with essentially the same aesthetic and stylistic principles and both represent an attempt to deal with temporality in an increasingly complex and urbanized world. Both, in short, are a complete reflection of the duality of twelfth-century thought.

It becomes increasingly apparent that the principles of art are valuable in the study of literature. It has been through the study of the aesthetic and stylistic principles of the Gothic in architecture that it has been possible to determine that La Vie de sainte Marguerite, La Conception Notre-Dame, and La Vie de saint Nicolas of Wace exhibit characteristics which can be considered Gothic. These principles similarly provide a basis for the hypothesis that other forms of vernacular literature of the twelfth century may also be founded on the aesthetic and stylistic principles of the Gothic. That hypothesis can only be verified by an examination of that vernacular literature, using as a means of evaluation the structural and stylistic principles of the Gothic style.

NOTES

1. Helmut Hatzfeld, Literature Through Art (New York, 1952), p. 211.
2. For a complete discussion of the Classicism of Gide see the following two books: Klaus Mann, André Gide and the Crisis of Modern Thought. New York, 1943, p. 202. and Leon Pierre-Quint, André Gide. New York, 1934,
3. Norris K. Smith, Medieval Art (Dubuque, Iowa, 1967), p. 85.
4. Smith, p.86.
5. Smith, p. 90.
6. Smith, pp. 66-67.
7. Smith, pp. 65-66.
8. Smith, pp. 93-94.
9. Smith, p. 109.
10. Arnold Hauser, The Social History of Art I (New York, 1951), p. 201.
11. Thomas G. Jackson, Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture (Cambridge, 1913), p. 171.
12. Hauser, p. 234.
13. Hauser, p. 237.
14. Smith, p. 88.
15. Hauser, p. 233.
16. Hauser, p. 233.
17. Hauser, pp. 201-202.
18. Smith, p. 93.
19. Hauser, p. 242.
20. For a complete discussion of the sources of Wace's poems, the life of Wace, and the Latin texts used as models by Wace, see the following works: Elizabeth A. Francis, La Vie de Sainte Marguerite. Paris, 1932.; Elinar Ronsjø, La Vie de Saint Nicolas par Wace. Copenhagen, 1942; G. Mancel and G.-S. Trebutien, L'établissement de la fête de la conception Notre-Dame par Wace. Caen, 1942.

The introductions to the above named editions establish the fact that Wace was born around the beginning of the twelfth century. The three saints' lives written by Wace, most scholars agree, date from the period 1135-1155. The dating of the Latin sources for these poems is more difficult. Most scholars agree that they were written during the Feudal period, that is, during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. All references in this essay to the lives of the saints written by Wace will be based on the editions mentioned above.

21. Mary Sinclair Crawford, Life of Saint Nicholas (Phila. 1923), p. 18.
22. George Perkins Marsh, Medieval and Modern Saints and Miracles (New York, 1876), p. 11.
23. J. D. M. Ford, "The Saints Life in Vernacular Literature of the Middle Ages," Catholic Review. XVII (1931), p. 271.
24. Paul John Jones, Prologue and Epilogue in Old French Lives of Saints (Philadelphia, 1933), p. 17.
25. Elizabeth A. Francis, La Vie de Sainte Marguerite par Wace (Paris, 1932), pp. viii-xi.
26. Einar Ronsjø, La Vie de Saint Nicolas par Wace (Copenhagen, 1942), p. 22.
27. Ronsjø, p. 23.
28. André S. Blum, A Short History of Art (New York, 1928), p. 101.
29. Hauser, p. 201.
30. Marsh, p. 14.
31. Crawford, p. 41.
32. Hauser, p. 186.
33. Hauser, p. 235.
34. Hauser. pp. 238-39.
35. Hauser, pp. 242-43.
36. Hauser, p. 243.

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“Life is very nice,
but it has no shape. The
object of art is actually
to give it some.”

Jean Arrouilh

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A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE CONTE
AS A GENRE IN NINETEENTH CENTURY FRENCH LITERATURE

S. Robert Powell

May 8, 1969

A/A-

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VILLIERS ~~IN~~ L'ISLE ADAM AND THE REJECTION ~~OF~~ EMPIRICAL REALITY

The short story as a genre in France in the nineteenth century has not been clearly defined. This is due, in part, to the fact that the study of the conte has been eclipsed by that of the novel, the preferred genre of the greatest prose writers of the century. The short story, however, was a popular genre throughout the nineteenth century, particularly after 1830. Consider, for example, the following partial list of nineteenth-century contes: Balzac, Episode sous la Terreur; Merimée, Tamango; Flaubert, ^{plus nouvelles than contes} Trois Contes; Daudet, Lettres de mon moulin; Zola, Contes à Ninon; Villiers de l'Isle Adam, Contes Cruels; Bourget, ^{now many are, he wrote and said} Eau profonde; Loti, Mme Chrysanthe; France, Etui de Nacre; and Maupassant, author of over three hundred short stories. Notwithstanding the popular success of the conte in the nineteenth century and the fact that many of the great novelists also wrote short stories, many literary historians have denounced the short story as a bastardized genre, calling it episodic, one-dimensional, static, fragmentary and superficial. Above all, the short story is dismissed as an amateurish and frivolous genre. These condemnations result from the fact that the short story is usually judged according to the structural and stylistic principles of the realistic novel or, as is more often the case, according to the somewhat imprecise definitions of the conte offered by Edgar Allen Poe and Guy de Maupassant.

In 1842 Poe made the following remarks about the short

story in his discussion of Hawthorne's Twice Told Tales:

A skillful literary artist has constructed a story. If wise he has not fashioned his thoughts to accommodate his incidents, but having conceived with deliberate care a certain unique or single effect to be wrought out, he then invents such incidents--he then combines such events as may best aid him in establishing the preconceived effect. If his very initial sentence tend not to the out-bringing of this effect, then he has failed in his first step. In the whole composition there should be no word written of which the tendency, direct or indirect, is not to the one pre-established design.¹

Maupassant discusses his art in the preface to Pierre et Jean:
NB - Maupassant is talking at least as much about words as story.

La vie laisse tout au même plan, précipite les faits ou les traîne indéfiniment. L'Art, au contraire, consiste à user des précautions et des préparations, à ménager des transitions savantes et dissimulées, à mettre en pleine lumière, par la seule adresse de la composition, les événements essentiels et à donner à tous les autres le degré de relief qui leur convient, suivant leur importance, pour produire la sensation profonde de la vérité spéciale qu'on veut montrer. Faire vrai consiste donc à donner l'illusion complète du vrai, suivant la logique ordinaire des faits, et non à les transcrire servilement dans le pêle-mêle de leur succession.²

Neither of these descriptions of the short story elucidates in any significant manner the essential characteristics of the short story, particularly the structural and temporal perspective of the conte and the world view expressed by it. They deny, in short, the essence of the short story as a genre. The short story, however, is a genre unto itself and is constructed on the basis of structural and stylistic principles unlike those of any other form of prose, particularly the realistic novel. This can best be demonstrated by an examination of the Contes Cruels of Villiers de l'Isle Adam.

The most remarkable characteristic of the Contes Cruels of Villiers de l'Isle Adam is the juxtaposition therein of definite statements of lyricism and satire. Christiaan van der Meulen and A. W. Raitt have examined in detail these two seemingly contradictory tendencies in the short stories of Villiers and have determined that they both have a common origin in his idealism. Van der Meulen states:

L'oeuvre de Villiers se laisse nettement diviser en deux parties: l'une satirique et l'autre lyrique. Il semble bien que cette double orientation de Villiers vers le satire et le lyrisme doive être attribuée à son idéalisme. Le matérialiste sait se contenter de ce qui lui offre la terre. Il ne cherche rien au delà. Il ne connaît pas les ardents élans du rêve, et ne connaît pas non plus les révoltes. L'idéaliste au contraire se complique fatalement d'un pessimiste. Il souffre d'abord de l'infini de ses désirs à jamais inassouvis, mais il souffre surtout de la vie elle-même avec ses exaspérantes laideurs, ses oriantes injustices, ses cruelles inimitiés, et il s'appartient au "genus irritabile vatum", il est presque inévitable que le rêveur se double d'un satirique. L'idéalisme déçu, voilà donc l'unique explication des alternances de rêve et d'ironie dans l'oeuvre de Villiers.

For Villiers, né Jean Marie Mathias Philippe Auguste Villiers de l'Isle Adam, this confrontation of materialism and idealism meant a confrontation of aristocratic and bourgeois values and the ultimate triumph of the latter. It is that triumph which Villiers acknowledges with contempt throughout the Contes Cruels:

is really takes a psychology of values - I hope you don't
Villiers de l'Isle Adam, le dernier rejeton d'une race seculaire dont les actions d'éclat figurent au nombre des joyaux de l'histoire, lui qui se sentait de si profondes racines dans le temps héroïques de la chevalerie et des affinités avec ses plus illustres représentants, il fut condamné à vivre dans cette époque de matérialisme et de panmuflisme, dans la grande barbarie éclairée au gaz. Son âme aristocratique et méditative fut blessé au vif. Il se révolta et, au lieu d'histoires moroses et mystérieuses, il se mit à écrire des contes cruels, ripostant ainsi par des satires au défi que lui jetait la vie. 4

It follows, then, that the satire of Villiers is directed primarily at the bourgeoisie in that it is they who most blatantly uphold the doctrine of materialism and thereby deny the possibility of idealism. It is the bourgeoisie, as Raitt has stated, who make it impossible for the aristocrat to actively participate in life in France under the Third Republic: *It's certainly the bourgeoisie that invented modern idealism. Hegel + Co.*

L'oeuvre de Villiers consiste donc en une campagne féroce menée contre les idées de son temps, et le représentant principal de ces idées, c'est le bourgeois. C'est lui que Villiers rend responsable de tous les méfaits contemporains et qu'il dissèque avec une impitoyable ironie. ⁵

Villiers thus derides and vilifies every belief and doctrine of the bourgeoisie, beginning with the doctrine of common sense. Villiers begins by attacking this doctrine in that the bourgeoisie rejects or denies everything which common sense refuses to accept. It is a faculty which the bourgeoisie utilizes to protect itself against everything which might prove the existence of a non-sensual world. In Le Traitement du docteur Tristan, the physician, whose motto is: "Tout pour le Bon-Sens et par le Bon-Sens," reduces his clients to a state of bourgeois euphoria by brain-washing and thereby destroys the meaning of the words foi, générosité, and âme immortelle. At the conclusion of the treatments of Doctor Tristan: "Vous sentez le Bon-Sens couler comme un baume, dans tout votre être. Votre indifférence ne connaît plus de frontières. Vous êtes devenu un homme de l'Humanité." ⁶

Villiers then attacks the aggressive materialism of the bourgeoisie which measures all things, spiritual or otherwise, according to their material value. In L'Affichage Céleste a plan is presented whereby the sky would be utilized for commercial

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These works are hardly "contes" in a
structural sense and you speak not only of
them themselves

purposes. The conte concludes with the following statement:

"Grâce au projet de M. Grave le ciel finira par être bon à quelque chose et par acquérir, enfin, une valeur intrinsèque."⁷

A similar emphasis on the material value of all things is seen in Les Fleurs de Ténèbres wherein the undertakers of Paris, indignant over the waste of flowers at funerals, gather up the flowers from the graves after the families have departed and re-sell them to florists.

The bourgeois habit of thinking of everything in terms of money is the subject of a bitter satire in Le plus beau dîner du monde. Two provincial notary^s each want to serve "le plus beau dîner du monde" to their friends. Each serves the same meal, yet it is the second who wins since he concealed a twenty franc piece in the napkin of each guest. Even love is subject to financial calculations as in Virginie et Paul where each reply in an apparently idyllic dialogue between two lovers is a play on words on argent. The conte begins in the following manner: "C'est la grille des vieux jardins du pensionnat. Dix heures sonnent dans le lointain. Il fait une nuit d'avril, claire, bleue et profonde. Les étoiles semblent d'argent."⁸ When speaking of the song of the nightingale the lovers remark: "Quelle voix pure et argentine, mais ça empêche de dormir. Il fait très doux ce soir, la lune argentine, c'est beau."⁹ The narrator of the short story makes the following remarks at the conclusion: "Pendant que j'écoutais, ravi, le bruit céleste d'un baiser, les deux anges se sont enfuis; l'écho attardé des ruines vaguement répétait: "De l'argent! Un peu d'argent."¹⁰

Similarly Les Demoiselles de Bienfilatre and Maryelle are variations on the idea that, in certain sectors of society, infidelity is perfectly admissible provided that it is motivated by money and not by love. Olympe, a prostitute in Les Demoiselles de Bienfilatre, falls in love and is ostracized for having done so. Her sister, also a prostitute, reacts to her falling in love in the following manner: "Ma soeur, votre conduite est inqualifiable! Respectez, au moins, les apparences!" 11

The materialistic world view of the bourgeoisie also permeates the creative arts. In Les Filles de Milton, for example, the poet is presented as a blind old man who is dying from hunger in the presence of his daughters who, not esteeming very highly the profession of their father, think only of their own health and well being. They, like most bourgeois, are not capable of expressing personal sentiment and are immediately suspicious of those who do, particularly those who appear to have talent. In Les deux augures an editor summarily rejects the manuscript of a young writer who has shown himself to be very talented: "Mon jeune ami, c'est triste à dire, mais vous êtes atteint de beaucoup de talent. Pardonnez-moi ma rude franchise. Mon intention n'est pas de vous blesser." 12 The editor then suggests that the talented young writer try and be more mediocre, perhaps even plagiarize. In so doing his manuscript would appeal to vast audiences:

La seule devise qu'un homme de lettres sérieux doive adopter de nos jours est celle-ci: SOIS MEDIOCRE. C'est

celle que j'ai choisie. De là, ma notoriété... Toutefois, si vous n'êtes pas un homme de génie, votre cas n'est pas désespéré. En ne travaillant pas, vous arriverez peut-être. Par exemple, si vous voulez vous constituer, sciemment, plagiaire, cela ferait polémique, on vendrait, et vous pourriez alors revenir me voir: sans cela, rien à faire ensemble. 13

In order to protect himself against personal sentiment, the bourgeoisie has established an elaborate system of defense mechanisms. For example, the machine in L'Appareil pour l'analyse chimique du dernier soupir which teaches children that sorrow on the death of their parents is a useless gesture:

Grace à cet appareil les enfants pourront, dorénavant, regretter leurs parents sans douleur. Ah! le bien-être physique avant tout. . . C'est à se demander, en un mot, si l'Age d'Or ne revient pas. . . Heureux siècle! Au lit de mort, maintenant, quelle consolation pour les parents de songer que ces doux êtres--trop aimés--ne perdront plus de temps--le temps, qui est de l'argent!--en flux inutiles des glandes lacrymales et en ces gestes sangrénus qu'entraînent, presque toujours, les décès inopinés! . . . Grace à cet appareil les enfants, enfin, seront vaccinés contre ce désespoir. 14

Even the creative arts of past generations will be affected:

Les arts vont s'en ressentir. Grace à l'appareil, dans quelque dix ans, le tableau de la Fille du Tintoret ne sera plus remarquable que comme coloration, et les marches funébres de Beethoven et de Chopin ne se comprendront plus que comme musique de danse. 15

The end result, according to Villiers, of this bourgeois tendency toward the repression of sentiment is presented in Sentimentalisme^{ENTH} wherein the characters are unable to spontaneously react to any situation whatsoever on an emotional level:

Bref, lorsqu'un grand bonheur ou un grand malheur vous arrivent, ce qui s'éveille en vous, tout d'abord, avant même que votre esprit s'en soit bien rendu compte, c'est l'obscur désir d'aller trouver quelque comédien hors

ligne pour lui demander quels sont les gestes convenable où vous devez vous laisser emporter par la circonstance. 16

They finally express the hope that some day there be theaters where one can pay a fee and watch his life lived by someone else:

Tout le monde, d'ailleurs, me paraît, aujourd'hui, plus ou moins revenu d'éprouver quoi que ce soit. J'espère qu'il y aura bientôt quatre ou cinq théâtres par capitale, où les événements usuels de la vie étant joués sensiblement mieux que dans la réalité, personne ne se donnera plus beaucoup la peine de vivre soi-même. Lorsqu'on voudra se passionner ou s'émouvoir, on prendra une stalle, ce sera plus simple. Ce biais ne sera-t-il pas mille fois préférable au point de vue du bon sens? Pourquoi s'épuiser en passions destinées à l'oubli.? 17

This desire to have someone else live your life for you is indicative of the anguish of a whole generation which was forced to acknowledge the existence of a non-material world. Raitt explains this anguish in the following manner:

This "monde invisible" could at least be defined (the unconscious?)
Villiers a constaté que le bourgeois perd son calme dès qu'il se voit obligé de prendre connaissance de l'une ou l'autre des manifestations de l'existence d'un monde invisible et il prend un plaisir extrême à noter les réactions de panique folle et irrésistible qui ne manquent pas de s'ensuivre. Car le bourgeois, d'après Villiers, s'inquiète, bien contre son gré, de la possibilité qu'il y ait au monde autre chose que ce qui tombe sous ses sens et il cherche tous les moyens à réprimer cette inquiétude indéracinable. 18

It is this anguish which causes the bourgeois to massacre each other in Les Brigands and explains, in part, the mania of the baron in Le Convive des dernières fêtes. Villiers thus anticipates, as Raitt has determined, the disillusion of the generation of 1885, a generation which could ^{why not?} no longer enthusiastically uphold the bourgeois conceptions of science and progress and therefore sought refuge from those beliefs and from the anguish which is concomitant

by this you seem to be referring to the various phenomena
of "decadentism" but not to the "intellect" you make these
to a belief in them, in the non-material world of the intellect. ^{without}

This rejection of materialism and its concomitant values by Villiers de l'Isle Adam and by the generation of 1885 has im- ^{universal by} ^{attributing this} ^{to a} ^{generalization} portant consequences in the prose produced during that historical period, the most important being the complete rejection by Villiers and others of the bourgeois prose genre par excellence, the realistic novel. For the bourgeoisie and the fiction produced under its aegis, the temporal perspective is always chronological in that it is founded on a theory of progress. It is this perspective which, in fact, ^{it isn't the subject of fiction} is the subject of all realistic fiction. All is subordinated to or affected by chronological time. In this respect realistic novels have what can be called ^{or the same thing} an allegorical structure. ^{Why use this term which has other connotations?} This is true in that they are directly related to a concept of chronological time in a one-to-one way. No attempt is made in realistic fiction to represent a totality, ^{to you mean any interpretation} as in Greek drama. Realistic fiction attempts to represent a ^{there are different} ^{kinds of reality} relationship to life. That is to say, realistic novels are based on a concept of similitude and cannot be separated from the temporal structure of empirical reality without destroying their essential form. This notion is substantiated by Georg Luckács in his theory of the novel. Paul de Man explains that theory in the following manner:

one might demand some clarification here
For Luckács, the drama is the medium in which, as in Greek tragedy, the most universal predicament of man is represented. At a moment in history in which such universality is absent from all actual experience, the drama has to separate itself from life entirely, to become ideal and otherworldly. The novel, on the contrary, wishing to avoid the most destructive type of

fragmentation remains rooted in the particularity of experience; as an epical genre it can never give up its contact with empirical reality, which is an inherent part of its own form. 19

Given the fact that realistic fiction is structured on the basis of empirical reality, it is capable of producing two ^{this should be explained further} essential temporal environments, either a liberating and productive environment or a stifling and corrosive one. In Balzac, for example, the temporal structure is liberating and productive. One need only think of Rastignac and Lucien Rubempré to realize that the Balzacian hero exists within a temporal structure that provides freedom for movement. Without that freedom (espace libre) the Balzacian hero would be incapable of attaining a praxis. In the works of Zola, on the other hand, the temporal environment is stifling and corrosive. In Thérèse Raquin, for example, there is no freedom for movement within the temporal structure. Thérèse and Laurent are incapable of killing Camille--whether alive or dead he continues to fulfill the same function in the novel. It is for this reason that Zola represents, it can be argued, the failure of the realistic novel. This is true in that the temporal structure of Zola's novels is ^{I realize I used this term but it has its faults - perhaps} dramatic and not novelistic. ^{"revolving," "closed," etc. and no better} The temporal structure of a realistic novel necessarily provides espaces libres. A dramatic temporal structure, on the other hand, precludes freedom for action. In such a structure the characters become the helpless victims of a corrosive temporal structure which ultimately destroys them.

It is these two essential temporal environments structured on the basis of empirical reality that Villiers and the generation

of 1885 rejected as the basis for fiction. In so doing they rejected the realistic novel and developed a genre which clearly expressed their disgust for all temporality, the conte aristocratique. This disgust is clearly represented in the Contes Cruels, published in 1883. In this collection of short stories, unlike realistic novels, the temporal structure is not based on that of empirical reality. Rather, it is founded in the non-material reality of the intellect. In this respect the short story of Villiers is more closely related to ^{lyric} poetry than to the novel. That is to say, the conte of Villiers and poetry are both ^{isn't a dramatic structure atemporal in this sense? can't you say the conte is a dramatic structure of just a degenerate process? like the worst novel?} essentially atemporal. The realistic novel, it will be recalled, is primarily a statement of a process, a sequence of events presented within a temporal structure. The conte, on the other hand, is not representative of a process, instead, it is the statement of a conclusion. In other words, the realistic novel is relative, the conte is absolute. As such, the conte is an ^{you would have to deal with the contes of Raymond, 2014 it's all before you establish this - it isn't clear a priori} essentially aristocratic genre. One need only examine a small number of the short stories of Villiers to realize this point. In each of his short stories Villiers has arbitrarily incarnated values, that is to say, the characters in the Contes Cruels, like all aristocrats, possess a praxis a priori. For this reason they need not be presented within a temporal structure. This is directly related to the satiric intent of the Contes Cruels which are, in effect, statements, not of the evolution and development of bourgeois attitudes and beliefs, but of the ultimate ^{ultimate} manifestations of the bourgeois world view.

As such Villiers has presented both the crisis of bourgeois mentality and the crisis of realistic fiction. For the bourgeoisie this crisis is a feeling of anguish caused by the realization that there exists a non-empirical world in which science has no dominion. With reference to fiction, it means that the essentially allegorical structure of realistic fiction is supplanted by a symbolic structure. This can be demonstrated by an examination of Véra and Le Désir d'être un homme from the Contes Cruels.

Véra, like all of the contes of Villiers de l'Isle Adam, begins with an event which is situated within a temporal structure ^{that is} structured on that of empirical reality, the return of the Comte d'Athol from the burial of his wife Véra. The Count, however, upon his return, refuses to acknowledge that structure and established instead a temporal structure which is in no way related to that of empirical reality. His rejection is clearly evidenced by the fact that he broke the spring in the clock at the moment when Véra died: "Il revoyait la chambre veuve. . . Et là, là, dans l'ombre, la pendule, dont il avait brisé le ressort pour qu'elle ne sonnât plus d'autres heures." ²⁰ That evening he established a completely artificial temporal structure for himself, a structure in which chronological time has no significance. He refused to acknowledge the death of his wife and then said to his servant:

Raymond, dit tranquillement le comte, ce soir, nous sommes accablés de fatigue, la comtesse et moi; tu

serviras le souper vers dix heures. A propos, nous avons résolu de nous isoler davantage, ici, dès demain. Aucun de mes serviteurs, hors toi, ne doit passer la nuit dans l'hôtel. Tu leur remettras les gages de trois années, et qu'ils se retirent. Puis, tu fermeras la barre du portail; tu allumeras les flambeaux en bas, dans la salle à manger; tu nous serviras. Nous ne recevrons personne à l'avenir. ²¹

This new artificial temporal structure is so convincing that Raymond and the count find it almost impossible to distinguish the temporal structure of empirical reality from the artificial creation of the Comte d'Athol:

Les jours, les nuits, les semaines s'envolèrent. Ni l'un ni l'autre ne savait ce qu'ils accomplissaient. Et des phénomènes singuliers se passaient maintenant, où il devenait difficile de distinguer le point où l'imaginaire et le réel étaient identiques. Une présence flottait dans l'air; une forme s'efforçait de disparaître, de se tramer sur l'espace devenu indéfinissable. ²²

The artificial creation of the Comte d'Athol, however, ultimately disintegrates when the count remarks one night while sleepwalking: "Ah! maintenant, je me rappelle! Qu'ai-je donc? Mais tu es morte!" ²³ The subsequent destruction of his entire world of artificiality is described by Villiers in the following manner:

A l'instant même, à cette parole, la mystique veilleuse de l'iconostase s'éteignit. Le pâle petit jour du matin, d'un matin banal, grisâtre et pluvieux, filtra dans la chambre par les interstices des rideaux. Les bougies blémirent et s'éteignirent, laissant fumer âcrement leurs mèches rouges; le feu disparut sous une couche de cendres tièdes; les fleurs se fanèrent et se desséchèrent en quelques moments; le balancier de la pendule reprit graduellement son immobilité. La certitude de tous les objets s'envola subitement. L'opale, morte, ne brillait plus; les taches de sang s'étaient fanées aussi, sur la batiste, auprès d'elle; et s'effaçant entre les bras désespérés qui voulaient en vain l'étreindre encore, l'ardent et blanche vision rentra dans l'air et

s'y perdit. Un faible soupir d'adieu, distinct, lointain, parvint jusqu'à l'âme de Roger. Le comte se dressa; il venait de s'apercevoir qu'il était seul. Son rêve venait de se dissoudre d'un seul coup; il avait brisé le magnétique fil de sa trame radieuse avec une seule parole. L'atmosphère était, maintenant, celle des défunts. ²⁴

Véra, then, both begins and ends with the same event, the death of Véra. In the period between her death and the acknowledgment of her death by her husband she belongs wholly to an artificial temporal structure. It is a structure which can in no way be related to a concept of time similar to that of empirical reality. In that structure she is eternal. As soon as she is related to a time point in empirical reality, however, she dies. It is for this reason that the structure of the conte is, for the most part, symbolic. It is symbolic in that Véra, in the interim between her actual death and her husband's recognition of her death, functions as a sustained metaphor. That is to say, the reconstructed Véra in the mind of the Comte d'Athol is an image of experience which recreates experience and becomes more real than the actual living woman. Hauser's remarks on this point are significant: "Vera is so completely present spiritually and the radiation of her personality so immediate, so overwhelming, that her fictitious life has a much deeper, truer and more genuine reality than her actual death." ²⁵

A similar metaphoric structure is presented in one of the most remarkable contes of Villiers de l'Isle Adam, Le Désir d'être un homme. In this conte an actor, Esprit Chaudval, comes to the

realization that he is getting old and has never experienced a real human emotion:

Voici près d'un demi-siècle que je représente, que je joue les passions des autres sans jamais les éprouver, car, au fond, je n'ai jamais rien éprouvé, moi. Je ne suis donc le semblable de ces "autres" que pour rire! Je ne suis donc qu'une ombre? Les passions! les sentiments! les actes réels! REELS! voilà, voilà ce qui constitue l'HOMME proprement dit! Donc, puisque l'âge me force de rentrer dans l'Humanité, je dois me procurer des passions, ou quelque sentiment réel, puisque c'est la condition sine qua non sans laquelle on ne saurait prétendre au titre d'Homme. 26

He then decides that he would like to experience guilt feelings and therefore burns the Faubourg du Temple, killing hundreds of people. He justifies his action in the following manner:

Moi, je brûle par DEVOIR, n'ayant pas d'autre moyen d'existence! J'incendie parce que je me dois à moi-même! Je m'acquitte! Quel homme je vais être! Comme je vais vivre! Oui, je vais savoir, enfin, ce qu'on éprouve quand on est bourrelé. Quelles nuits, magnifiques d'horreur, je vais délicieusement passer! Ah! je respire! je renaiss! j'existe! Quand je pense que j'ai été comédien! Maintenant, comme je ne suis, aux yeux grossiers des humains, qu'un gibier d'échaufaud, fuyons avec la rapidité de l'éclair. 27

Chaudval then locks himself in a lighthouse where he can "jouer en paix de ses remords." 28 Unfortunately, he is unable to experience guilt feelings:

Contrairement à ses espoirs et prévisions, sa conscience ne lui criait aucun remords. Nul spectre ne se montrait! Il n'éprouvait rien, mais absolument rien! Parfois en se regardant au miroir, il s'apercevait que sa tête débonnaire n'avait point changé! Furieux, alors, il sautait sur les signaux, qu'il faussait, dans la radieuse espérance de faire sombrer au loin quelque bâtiment, afin d'aider, d'activer, de stimuler le remords rebelle! d'exciter les spectres! Peines perdues! Attentats stériles! Vains efforts! Il n'éprouvait rien. Il ne voyait aucun menaçant fantôme. 29

-16-

*You might have said a few words about the end of the story
7 Ch's relation to Death*

The crisis of Esprit Chaudval is the crisis of a whole generation of neo-romantics under the Third Republic. Chaudval, through his crimes, was desperately attempting to establish for himself an authentic praxis and thereby become an integral part of a temporal structure founded in empirical reality. Yet he was unable to do so and continued to exist in a symbolic and aristocratic world of atemporality, a world wherein no feelings of guilt could be experienced. In attempting to insert himself into temporality Chaudval was attempting to relate himself to a temporal structure, that is to say, an allegorical structure. He was, however, condemned to remain in a metaphoric or symbolic structure wherein, by definition, time and space are meaningless concepts. In this respect, he is a pure metaphor, unlike Véra. The metaphoric reality of Véra was destroyed when the Comte D'Athol acknowledged temporality by recognizing the fact that his wife had died. In so doing Véra descended from the poetic realm of metaphor into the prosaic world of empirical reality and similitude.

These two metaphoric incarnations, Véra and Esprit Chaudval, are illustrative of the duality of expression which permeates Villiers' thought, which, it will be recalled from an earlier section of this essay, is both lyric and satirical. Esprit Chaudval and his inability to relate to a temporal structure based in empirical reality represents the latter; Véra, in the period between her death and the time when her husband acknowl-

edges her death, represents the former. In this respect, the Contes Cruels represent not only Villiers' scorn for the bourgeois world of the Third Republic and for temporality, but also his enthusiasm for artificiality and atemporality. Hauser explains this enthusiasm for atemporality in the following manner:

The enthusiasm for the artificiality of culture is in some respects again only a new form of romantic escapism. Artificial, fictitious life is chosen, because reality can never be so beautiful as illusion and because all contact with reality, all attempts to realize dreams and wishes must lead to their corruption. But people now take refuge from social reality not in nature, as the romantics had done, but in a higher, more sublimated and more artificial world. 30

This anti-natural aestheticism is similarly, as Hauser has determined, the principal issue in Axel, the posthumous poetic drama of Villiers de l'Isle Adam:

In Villiers de l'Isle Adam's Axel, one of the classical portrayals of the new attitude to life, the intellectual and imaginary forms of being always stand above the natural and practical, and unrealized desires always seem more perfect and more satisfying than their translation into ordinary trivial reality. Axel wants to commit suicide with Sara whom he loves. She is quite willing to die with him, but she would like, before they die, to know the happiness of one night of love. Axel fears, however, that, afterwards, he would no longer have the courage to commit suicide with Sara and that their love, like all realized dreams, would not stand the test of time. He prefers the perfect illusion to the imperfect reality. 31

It is this same desire for artificiality that is expressed in Sentimentalisme:

Tout le monde, d'ailleurs, me paraît, aujourd'hui, plus ou moins revenu d'éprouver quoi que ce soit. J'espère qu'il y aura bientôt quatre ou cinq théâtres par capitale, où les événements usuels de la vie étant joués sensiblement mieux que dans la réalité, personne ne se donnera plus beaucoup la peine de vivre soi-même. Lorsqu'on

NB that this is the inverse of recent developments in the theatre (living the etc)

voudra se passionner ou s'émouvoir, on prendra une stalle, ce sera plus simple. Ce biais ne sera-t-il pas mille fois préférable, au point de vue du bon-sens? 32

This kind of escape from empirical reality is undertaken, not because one is enticed, as were the romantics, rather, because one is disgusted. In this respect the metaphoric structures of Véra, Le Désir d'être un homme, and Axel are indicative of a new and wholly un-realistic tendency in prose. This is directly related to the use of figurative language in fiction. In the realistic novel figurative language was utilized primarily for enrichment and the achievement of a realistic effect. In the short stories of Villiers de l'Isle Adam ^{you might have illustrated this more fully} metaphors provide the essential structural element of fiction and become, in fact, the real subject of fiction. In this respect they become symbols since they are, by definition, atemporal. Hauser's remarks on this point are significant:

Mallarmé's generation by no means invented the symbol as a means of expression; symbolic art had also existed in previous ages. It merely discovered the difference between symbol and allegory, and made symbolism as a poetic style the conscious aim of its endeavors. It recognized, even though it was not always able to give expression to that insight, that allegory is nothing but the translation of an abstract idea into the form of a concrete image, whereby the idea continues to a certain extent to be independent of its metaphorical expression and could also be expressed in another form, whereas the symbol brings the idea and the image into an indivisible unity, so that the transformation of the image also implies the metamorphosis of the idea. 33

As such, the conte was an appropriate genre in which Villiers could express the essential duality of his thought. He could give literary form to his disgust for bourgeois temporality without

acknowledging the temporal structure of empirical reality. At the same time, he gave literary form to his idealism, which, by definition, is atemporal.

The Contes Cruels of Villiers de l'Isle Adam are, then, significant in the history of French prose of the nineteenth century. They embody, as has been demonstrated, the ultimate and complete rejection of the bourgeois world-view as the basis of fiction. At the same time they represent the new artistic ideal of artificiality, an artificiality founded on the complete separation of the structure of fiction from that of empirical reality. In this respect, the short story of Villiers represents, it can be argued, the beginning of a process of complete in-breeding in art, since art is no longer structured on the basis of empirical reality and intended for the general public; rather it is structured on the basis of the non-material realm of the intellect and intended for other artists. An examination of the prose productions of other writers of contes in the nineteenth century, most notably Guy de Maupassant, may show that the conte, throughout the nineteenth century, was structured on the basis of the non-material realm of the intellect and, as such, is atemporal and anti-realistic. Such an examination, however, is beyond the scope of this essay.

do you really think this is true? Villiers seems unique in this respect. Even Barbey's Diaboliques are based on non-symbolic narrative principles, in which "aristocracy" appears simply as a "closure" assertion of the integrity of the form.

The contes of Maup. et al. would seem to fall generally within the naturalist tradition that replace the process-narrative by that of a moment - they are "atemporal" but only because process has been reduced to an instantaneous passage from potential to real.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Thomas Gullason. "The Short Story: an underrated art," Studies in Short Fiction Vol II, Fall 1964, p. 20.
- 2 Guy de Maupassant. Pierre et Jean. Paris, 1966, pp. 40-41.
- 3 Christiaan J. C. Van der Meulen. L'Idéalisme de Villiers de l'Isle Adam. Paris, 1925, p. 47.
- 4 Van der Meulen, p. 49.
- 5 A. W. Raitt. Villiers de l'Isle Adam et le mouvement symboliste. Paris, 1965, p. 165.
- 6 Villiers de l'Isle Adam. Contes Cruels: Le Traitement du Docteur Tristan. Paris, 1952, p. 249.
- 7 Villiers de l'Isle Adam. Contes Cruels: L'Affichage Céleste, p. 55.
8. Villiers de l'Isle Adam. Contes Cruels: Virginie et Paul, p. 83.
- 9 Virginie et Paul, p. 86.
- 10 Virginie et Paul, p. 87.
- 11 Les Demoiselles de Bienfilatre, p. 13.
- 12 Les Deux Augures, p. 46.
- 13 Les Deux Augures, p. 45.
- 14 L'Appareil pour l'analyse chimique du dernier soupir, p. 164.
- 15 L'Appareil pour l'analyse chimique du dernier soupir, pp. 168-69.
- 16 Sentimentalisme, p. 133.
- 17 Sentimentalisme, p. 139.
- 18 Raitt, p. 171.
- 19 Paul de Mann. "Georg Luckács: Theory of the Novel," Modern Language Notes. 1966, p. 531.
- 20 Véra, p. 21.

- 21 Véra, p. 24.
- 22 Véra, p. 25.
- 23 Véra, p. 29.
- 24 Véra, p. 29.
- 25 Arnold Hauser. The Social History of Art Vol. 4, New York ,
1962, p.184.
- 26 Le Désir d'être un homme, p. 156.
- 27 Le Désir d'être un homme, p. 159.
- 28 Le Désir d'être un homme, p. 159.
- 29 Le Désir d'être un homme, p. 161.
- 30 Hauser, p. 183.
- 31 Hauser, p. 183.
- 32 Sentimentalisme, p. 139.
- 33 Hauser, p. 195.
- 34 Hauser, p. 182.

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iste. Paris, 1965.
- Villiers de l'Isle Adam. Contes Cruels. Paris, 1952.

The most important part of this study comes near the end when you actually tackle the structure of Vers etc. This should have been given more prominence, at least a couple of other stories should have been added, the distinction between irony + satire made clear (are the bourgeois rationalized for their autocratic inability to live in the real world?) I think some separation of irony from satire per se might be in order - bourgeois materialism destroys genuine interpersonal relations (satire) but certain characters seek to overcome this in an "artificial" world - and fail (irony). Indeed you don't say much about the sense of failure in Vers and the final choice of Death, also made in le Dén.

In contrast you could have reinforced the part dealing with V's attacks on the bourgeoisie since you don't analyze these stories structurally. The essential thing is to deal with the text + to make it the basis for your speculative ideas.

A/A^{2c}

1214

This Constable work was for
a seminar at Indiana. Very
enjoyable.

“We don't know one
millionth of one percent
about anything.”

Thomas A. Edison

1215

Bibliography: John Constable (1776-1837)
Compiled by S. Robert Powell, November 1969

1.

MONOGRAPHS

Leslie, C. R. Memoirs of the Life of John Constable. London, 1843. (ND497.C7L6). A biography of Constable published six years after Constable's death by his friend C. R. Leslie. The book is primarily composed of Constable's correspondence from which Leslie has omitted all passages which threaten to throw himself up in too agreeable a light and all passages in which his view failed to do justice to the memory of Constable. Benedict Nicolson in his 1949 edition of Leslie's biography remarks: "Leslie contrives to paint rather too rosy a portrait of Constable. Unconsciously he tends to build up his hero into a god-like version of himself, to make him too much a family man, almost too gentle, almost too respectable, and although every word rings with a clear note of truth, we have to search elsewhere, in other memoirs of the period, if we are to drag Constable down to the earth where he belongs." The 1843 edition was enlarged and re-published in 1845. Subsequent editions appeared in 1896, 1905 (in French), 1912, 1937 (Shirley), 1949 (Nicolson), and 1951 (Mayne).

Holmes, C. J. Constable. London, 1901. (ND497.C7H7)
A short monograph giving the main facts of Constable's life. It supplements Leslie's biography by re-appraising the art of Constable in the light of later artistic developments.

. Constable and his Influence on Landscape Painting. London, 1902. Herein Holmes offers a much fuller discussion of Constable and his art than in his 1901 monograph on Constable. A chronological list of the artist's chief pictures and dated sketches is given. In his review of the Reynolds Catalogue of the Constable Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum in the June 1961 Art Bulletin Louis Hawes remarks: "Until Reynolds (1960) most students of Constable, since 1902, have relied heavily on Holmes in matters of dating. Holmes approached the problem largely from the standpoint of style, seldom attending to other kinds of evidence. Many of his suggestions have stood up remarkably well--even under Reynolds' scrutiny."

Henderson, M. Sturge. Constable. London, 1905. (ND497.C7H4)
A biography of Constable wherein the author "aimed at presenting the actions and interests of the artist as vividly as is compatible with a strictly chronological arrangement." (from the preface). Henderson offers a lengthy discussion of the Lucas mezzotints (pp.114-46), and Constable's lectures on the history of landscape painting (pp. 146-66).

Tompkins, Herbert W. In Constable's Country. London, 1906. (ND497.C7T6). Tompkins expresses his aim in writing this book as follows: "This book is not an essay on Constable and his art. It is a transcript of impressions, penned, in the first instance, by the wayside. It records a ramble in the

2.

valley of the Stour and its immediate neighbourhood, where Constable passed much of his life and where he painted so many of his landscapes. I have talked with men who have passed their lives besides the Stour, and whose grandsires were thereabouts when Constable was living. The Valley of the Stour contains much of interest apart from the story of Constable and his pictures, and I have set down whatever seemed worthy of record, whether of wayside interest or local tradition."

- Lucas, Edward V. John Constable the Painter. London, 1924. (ND497.C7L9) A short monograph dealing with the life and principal works of Constable, published on the centenary of two notable events in art: the foundation of the National Gallery and the exhibition of the Hay Wain in Paris. This study is based primarily on information in Leslie's biography of Constable (1843) and Holmes' study of Constable published in 1902. Lucas also relies to a large extent on the Joseph Farington diary. 14 oil paintings and 2 watercolors by Constable are reproduced in color; 34 oil paintings, 3 water colors, 6 pencil drawings and 8 of the Lucas mezzotints are reproduced in monochrome.
- Clark, Sir Kenneth. The Hay Wain in the National Gallery. London, 1944. (ND1170.G2,no.5) A short essay giving all that is known about the Hay Wain and its relation to early 19th century art and life. There are 17 illustrations (10 details of the Hay Wain), all in monochrome.
- Key, Sydney J. John Constable: His Life and Work. London, 1948. (ND497.C7K4) This account of the life and work of John Constable is based on information taken from the Shirley edition of Leslie's biography, the Farington Diary in the Royal Library at Windsor, and Art in England 1800-1820, 1821-1837 by W. T. Whitley. 51 monochrome illustrations & 4 color plates.
- Badt, Kurt. John Constable's Clouds. London, 1950. (ND497.C7B13) The thesis of Badt's study is that there is a causal relationship between the publication of Luke Howard's cloud classifications which appeared in volume one of his Climate of London (1818), and Constable's period of intense sketching of skies in 1821-1822. Louis Hawes, in his review of the Reynolds Catalogue of the V&A (Art Bulletin, June 1961) remarks: "Badt's book is intensely interesting and rewarding but its conclusions are too often overstated and cry out for qualification." In the same review Hawes qualifies Badt's thesis by considering the background and early experience Constable had in working in his father's mills. Hawes further remarks: "The sky sketches of 1821-22 no doubt represent a radically intensified interest and attentiveness to the problem of painting skies, but this concern was not a new born one suddenly instilled by reading a meteorological text. The latter, at most, may very possibly have been the stimulus for a clearer focusing of an already aroused interest."

Beckett, R. B. John Constable and the Fishers. London, 1952. (ND497.C7B2) This monograph is the record of the friendship of John Constable and John Fisher. It is presented primarily through the letters that they wrote to each other throughout their lives. In his introduction Beckett remarks: "To be introduced to a pair of admirable men, to be enabled to understand them in their friendship through their letters, to have the feeling of their minds and their hearts--this is bound to be an experience exhilarating and uncommon."

Reynolds, Graham. Catalogue of the Constable Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum. London, 1960. (ND497.C7V6) This is the masterwork on Constable. There are 310 plates with 596 illustrations, 1 color plate. In his review of this catalogue in the Art Bulletin, June 1961, pp. 160-166 Louis Hawes remarks; "The combined riches of Mr. Reynolds' formidable knowledge of Constable's art and the Victoria and Albert's unrivaled collection of Constable's paintings and drawings give this volume an importance transcending that of the usual museum catalogue. In many ways, this exhaustively annotated and illustrated catalogue is the most significant work on Constable to appear since Sir Charles Holmes' work on Constable of 1902. Reynolds, in fact, makes the first serious attempt since Holmes to establish a chronology for the many undated works in the collection. . . . Most of the watercolors and nearly all of the drawings from the 3 sketchbooks have never been published before. (The Victoria and Albert Museum has about 600 of Constable's works: 103 oil paintings, 309 watercolors and drawings, 3 bound sketchbooks containing pencil drawings on 157 pages. In addition, about 30 works contain paintings or drawings on the verso sides as well)"

. Constable, the Natural Painter. London, 1965. (ND497.C7R4) Together with the 1960 Catalogue of the Constable Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum, this monograph is one of the basic texts on John Constable and his art. In a review of this work (Connoisseur, January 1966) Ralph Edwards stated: "It is truly a perceptive and critical monograph based on years of intensive study and mercifully free of the abstruse, highly specialized lingo that has lately come to be increasingly associated with criticism of the arts. . . . Reynolds believes that lately the oil sketches and studies have tended to monopolize the attention of Constable admirers, and he seeks to adjust the balance by stressing the importance of what he calls the "canal scenes", the six great paintings of the canalised river Stour on which Constable staked his claim to lasting fame." Edwards remarks that the color plates are "shockingly bad."

Hawes, Louis. Constable's Writings on Art. Thesis, Princeton, 1963. (ND497.C7H38). In the abstract which precedes this thesis, Louis Hawes states his aims in writing this study of Constable as follows: "This study has three major aims: (1) to extract from Constable's voluminous correspondence and notes the most significant passages embodying his art theory (2) to discuss them in the context of antecedent art theory and con-

temporary romantic aesthetic theory, and (3) to relate his theory to his practice." Hawes convincingly demonstrates that Constable's writings contain a definite theory of art. In his conclusion he remarks: "They embody a significant conception of nature, art and the creative process and the respective roles of training, tradition and the observation of nature. In addition, the artist's ambitious lectures on landscape exhibit a subtle and surprisingly comprehensive grasp of the history of landscape painting, definitely in advance of his day. They comprise, in effect, one of the first historical surveys of landscape." Hawes also demonstrates that Constable is a product of the age of romanticism, i. e., the age of Wordsworth and Hazlitt, and that with respect to what Constable referred to as a "natural style" he has more affinities with Hazlitt's theory than Wordsworth's world-view.

Poole, Phoebe. John Constable. New York, 1964. (ND497.C7P8)

A brief but well-written account of the life and major works of Constable. 24 color illustrations and 53 monochrome illustrations.

Baskett, John. Constable Oil Sketches. London, 1966. (ND497.C7B16)

The 6,000 word introduction to this study contains a brief account of Constable's life and an analysis of Constable's use of the oil sketch. The 32 plates, which constitute the main interest in this text, are each accompanied with up to a page of documentation and explanatory notes.

Cummings, Frederick and Allen Staley. Romantic Art in Britain: Paintings and Drawings 1760-1860. Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1968, (Library of Congress card catalog number 68-14543)

This catalogue of an exhibition in Detroit (January 9--February 18, 1968) and in Philadelphia (March 14--April 21, 1968) contains three essays on Romantic art in general: (1) Robert Rosenblum: "British Art and the Continent, 1760-1860; (2) Frederick Cummings: "Romanticism in Britain, 1760-1860; (3) Allen Staley: "British Landscape painting, 1760-1860. These essays provide a good introduction to the entire question of landscape painting in Britain during the period 1760-1860, particularly that of Allen Staley. The Constables in this exhibition were few in number (8). Nevertheless, they are accompanied by much documentation (provenance, exhibitions, references) and well-written explanatory notes.

PERIODICALS

Bouyer, Raymond. "A propos du centenaire de Constable; Comment définir le paysage romantique?" Gazette des Beaux Arts. December 1937, pp. 312-317.

A discussion of Constable's influence in France in the 1820's. Bouyer's primary concern is defining "le paysage romantique." He concludes: "Le véritable paysage romantique est l'enfant de l'imagination dans ses motifs moins inspirés de la vue de la nature que du rêve de l'artiste." In this respect Bouyer praises the artistic effort of Paul Huet.

- Shirley, Andrew. "Paintings by Constable in Paris 1824-26." Gazette des Beaux Arts, Vol. 23, March 1943, 173-80. An estimate of Constable's influence in France in the 1820's. Shirley justly emphasizes the role played by the Parisian art dealers Arrowsmith and Shroth, particularly Schroth. It is because of the efforts of these two men that 27 of Constable's works were seen in France in the period 1824-26.
- Steigman, John. "Constable's 'Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's Grounds,'" Art Quarterly 14, no. 3, 1951, 195-205. This article places the known versions of "Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's Grounds" in a chronological relationship so far as possible and restates the evidence for the order suggested. The excuse for so doing is the existence in an English private collection of a version hitherto thought lost.
- Peckham, Morse. "Constable and Wordsworth," College Art Journal 12, 1952-53, 196-209. Peckham's article is built around the question: "Are there any reasons for thinking that Constable consciously applied Wordsworth's ideas about writing poetry to his own creative activity, painting?" On the basis of the available evidence (Constable met Wordsworth in 1806, Sir George Beaumont was the patron of Constable, Coleridge, and Wordsworth, etc.) Peckham concludes: "I am convinced that Constable had the opportunity thru Sir George Beaumont to become acquainted with the ideas of Wordsworth as expressed in conversation, in letters, in published prose, and in poetry, published and un-published, and that he did actually become acquainted with them, that he was profoundly affected by them, and that the sudden re-direction of his art worked out in the sketches beginning in 1808 was the result of that impact upon his mind and sensibility." For a more complete discussion of the question of Constable and Wordsworth, see Hawes' 1963 thesis: Constable's Writings on Art, 1963.
- Beckett, R. B. "Constable's Lock," Burlington Magazine 94, August 1952, 252-56. Beckett reviews the available information on the six versions of "A Boat Passing a Lock." He concludes that the upright type precedes the oblong type and that in each sub-grouping Constable made his usual preliminary study of approximately the same size. The subject of the Lock occupied Constable off and on from 1823-1826, and Peckham's article helps clarify Constable's activity during this period.
- D'Otrange-Mastai, M. L. "Constable's Diversity," Apollo 64, August 1956, 37-40. D'Otrange-Mastai compares the differences in mood and style between the sketches and the finished pictures. He concludes that the true Constable is to be found not in the great showpieces but in the oil sketches. This point of view has been refuted, for the most part, by Graham Reynolds in Constable: the Natural Painter (London, 1965)

- Beckett, R. B. "Constable's 'Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's Grounds.'" Art Quarterly 20, Summer 1957, 141-50. Beckett's article is a supplement to the account given by John Steigman of the chronological relationship of the several versions of Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's Grounds (Art Quarterly, Autumn 1951). Beckett corrects Steigman on the basis of letters which were not printed at the time of the Steigman article.
- Kitson, Michael. "John Constable, 1810-1816, A Chronological Study," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute. July 1957, 338-57. Kitson's article is a survey of the last formative period in Constable's life, namely from about 1810-1816. The first part of his essay is a recapitulation of the known facts, designed primarily to provide a starting point for the stylistic analysis which follows in the second part of the essay. The problem is to explain the stylistic basis of the change in Constable's landscapes between 1810-1816, that is, the difference between the Proby Dedham Vale of 1811 and the "Mill Stream" of 1814; between the Ashmolean Dedham Vale from Langham of 1812 and the slightly earlier, but more revolutionary Lock and Cottages on the Stour in the V&A. At the conclusion of his article Kitson gives an account of the innovations in handling and color which occur in the V&A Boat Building and the Leeds Dedham Vale from East Bergholt of 1814.
- Florissonne, Michel. "Constable and the Massacres de Scio by Delacroix," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, January-June 1957, 180-85. Florissonne discounts the story that Delacroix, after having seen the "Hay Wain" in the Salon of 1824, went back to his studio and re-did the painting he was then working on, the Massacres de Scio. He does so on the basis of a comparison of the texture of the two canvases. He states: "One finds that the difference between the thick and lumpy texture of Constable's work at this period, and Delacroix's smooth, brushed surfaces are more obvious than is the technical relationship claimed for them."
- Hawes, Louis. "Review of the Reynolds Catalogue of the Constable Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum," Art Bulletin, June 1961, 160-66. The review of Reynolds' book is given above under Reynolds' Catalogue of the Constable Collection in the V&A. Hawes also discusses Kurt Badt's John Constable's Clouds, see the entry under Badt. A clarification of the question of Constable and the picturesque is also offered by Hawes in this article.
- Beckett, R. B. "Constable's Hadleigh Castle," Art Quarterly 26, no. 4, 1963, 419-28. Beckett reviews the history of this painting which, after being exhibited in 1888, was lost sight of for nearly seventy-five years. It re-emerged in the Paul Mellon Collection in the early 1960's.

_____. "Summerland by John Constable," Art Quarterly 27, no. 21, 1964, 176-84. A brief account of the history of the canvas entitled Landscape: Ploughing Scene in Suffolk, from its exhibition at the Academy in the Spring of 1814 to the present day. This was one of Constable's favorite paintings and its sale to a complete stranger when exhibited at the British Institution delighted the artist and renewed his self confidence.

Reynolds, Graham. "Total immersion in Landscape," Art News 64, October 1965, 42-45. A brief discussion of the exhibition Sketches by Constable which toured the USA in 1965. Reynolds underlines the importance of sketching to Constable and the extensive degree to which he would weave the substances of his visual notations into his more elaborate pictures.

_____. "Newly Discovered Drawings by Constable in a Louvre Sketch Book," Burlington Magazine 108, March 1966, 138-39. Reynolds discusses the recent discovery of six or more of Constable's marine sketches and drawings made at Brighton in a small leatherbound sketch book in the Cabinet de Dessins in the Louvre. This same sketch book was utilized by Delacroix at Dieppe. Reynolds gives a short description of the contents of the sketch book as they should now, in his view, be described and suggests that Constable, touched by Delacroix's admiration for his work, gave him an unfinished sketch book as a present.

Beckett, R. B. "Constable and Hogarth," Art Quarterly 29, 1966, 106-110. Beckett suggests that Hogarth is the basis of Constable's portrait style, that is, the style of Constable's art when he was eking out his small income by painting portraits of his Suffolk friends. Beckett supports his argument by comparing Constable's portrait of Rear-Admiral Thomas Western (1814) with Hogarth's Captain Coram, 1740. Beckett has determined that the Constable portrait of Western is based on a design taken in reverse from the portrait of an earlier seafaring character, Captain Coram, painted by Hogarth for the Foundling Hospital in 1740. The posture of the sitter and the accessories in both paintings is also the same.

Rhyne, Charles. "Fresh Light on John Constable," Apollo 87, March, 1968, 227-30. Rhyne discusses two new books on Constable: Charles Peacock's John Constable, the Man and his Work (London, 1965) and Graham Reynolds's Constable, the Natural Painter (London, 1965). The latter has been discussed above. In reference to the former Rhyne remarks: "It is so un-scholarly in appearance and contains so many obvious mistakes, omissions and inconsistencies in the list of illustrations and notes on the plates that one is liable to overlook what it has to offer. Peacock gives a special importance to Constable's paintings and thoughts about the sea, which is one of the books strengths. As it is, this section constitutes the longest separate consideration of Constable's relationship to the sea in the literature on the artist. Mr. Peacock is right in calling attention to the neglect which this aspect of Constable's work has received."

Owen, Felicity. "Sir George Beaumont and the Contemporary Artist,"
Apollo 89, February 1969, 106-11. Owen discusses the
career of Sir George Beaumont as a patron of the arts:
his admiration for Reynolds and Wilson, his working in
Italy with J. R. Cozens, his admiration for Girtin,
his friendship with Farington, his recognition of Constable's
artistic talent, his scorn for Turner (Turner, said Beau-
mont, has done more harm in misleading the taste than any
other artist), and his gift to the nation of his personal
collection of paintings in 1823.

This is the text of a 2-hour
seminar report that I
gave on Constable.

L SLIDE: Self-portrait, pencil, 1806

John Constable was born at East Bergholt in Suffolk on June 11, 1776. He was the second son of Golding Constable, the owner of water mill at Flatford and Dedham and of two windmills in the neighborhood of Bergholt. Though very delicate as an infant, John Constable grew into a healthy boy and at the age of seven was sufficiently robust to be sent to a boarding school about fifteen miles from his home. From this school he passed to one at Lavenham and then to the Grammar School at Dedham where he remained until he was seventeen. He was a favorite with the headmaster, Dr. Grimwood, although he does not, as a scholar, appear to have excelled in anything but penmanship. Before he was sixteen years old his fondness for painting had become noticeable and was commented on by his teachers, who appear to have been lenient to his lack of interest in other studies which resulted from it. At East Bergholt all his spare time was spent in the company of John Dunthorne, a plumber and glazier who occupied a small cottage not far from the gates of Golding Constable's house. Dunthorne devoted his leisure time to sketching landscape from nature and in this pursuit John Constable was his constant companion.

Constable's father, a successful businessman, looked disparagingly at his son's interest in art and wished him to prepare for the Church. The thought of taking Orders, however, was so distasteful to Constable that it was agreed he should enter the milling business. For about a year he was at work in his father's mills. He worked conscientiously at the business, but his desires were unchanged, and during this period his mother's insight and sympathy led her to procure for him an introduction to Sir George Beaumont, who was in the habit of coming to Dedham to visit his mother, the Dowager Countess of Beaumont. Sir George was an important person for Constable to meet for he was well known among the artists and collectors of London, where his wealth,

social position, and education all combined to make him a leading patron and dictator of taste throughout most of Constable's life. In addition he was a landscape painter of some talent in the strict classical tradition whose admiration for Claude was unlimited. Sir George indulged by often carrying about in his luggage when he traveled, the small Hagar and the Angel. He showed Constable this picture together with water colors of Girtin and advised him to study them carefully. This advice was by no means wasted for Constable immediately shared Beaumont's enthusiasm for Claude, never to lose it, and before many years had passed his own work owed a large debt to Girtin.

SLIDE: / Landscape with a stream at Wenham, pen and ink, 7 1/8 by 11 3/4 in
Victoria and Albert Museum, 1796

R Cottage at East Bergholt, pen and ink, 7 1/8 by 11 3/4 in., 1796
Victoria and Albert Museum.

In 1795, perhaps encouraged by Beaumont, Constable persuaded his father to let him take a trip to London to measure his chances for success if he should decide to study painting seriously. Soon after he reached London he made the acquaintance of John Thomas Smith, a minor engraver and topographical draughtsman who was popularly known as "Antiquity". Smith at once encouraged him with offers of instruction & advice. During the next two years Constable accepted this tuition and divided his time between London and the country, keeping in touch with Smith by letters. He devoted his evenings to reading books on painting, Gessner's Essay on Landscape, and studying anatomy or drawing from plaster casts. A wide range of exercises included the copying of etchings by Ruysdael and battle scenes by Tempesta, and a brief but unsuccessful attempt at allegorical painting when he produced a pair of small stilted canvases representing a chemist and his opposite, an alchemist. In addition to these varied activities he also quickly

absorbed Smith's enthusiasm for the picturesque in rural scenery, spending a good deal of the daylight hours searching about the countryside for examples of "the neglected fast-ruinating cottages" which Smith admired for their wide range of rough textures. In the Victoria and Albert Museum a sketch book of eleven pen drawings of such cottages and landscapes, dated 1796, shows the level of accomplishment Constable had reached at this time. ^{→ gave title} He was using the pen in imitation of an etcher's point and following Smith's convention of scratchy ziz-zag lines for foliage. The results were timid and poor in perspective, indicating that Constable certainly possessed no natural facility in draughtsmanship and needed to learn a great deal more if he wished to call himself an artist. For the time being his youthful eagerness was far in advance of his skill. The lack of promise in these early sketches makes it not at all surprising that in 1797 Smith advised Constable to follow his father's advise and become a miller.

Constable tried the milling business for the second time, but not for long. After two years of work he had had enough and on February 25, 1799 he reappeared in London with his father's permission to study painting and won a letter of introduction to Joseph Farrington, a pupil and follower of Richard Wilson. Farrington became a friend and advisor to Constable and after appraising Constable's drawing of a torso on March 2nd, gave him a letter of recommendation to Wilton, keeper of the Royal Academy. It must have been on this day that Constable wrote to his friend Dunthorne the following letter published by Leslie: "I am this morning admitted as a student at the Royal Academy. The figure which I drew for admittance was the Torso. I shall begin painting in earnest as soon as I have the loan of a sweet little picture of Jacob Ruysdael to copy."

Constable was now nearly 23, but still capable of nothing more than amateurish work, while Turner, only 25, was already well launched

and in two years would be elected a member of the Royal Academy. In Constable there was no indication of youthful genius that would enable him to quickly make up for lost time. Instead his hand was clumsy and this, combined with the haphazard nature of his early training, was a drawback. In the surroundings of the Academy school he quickly realized his limitations and at once mapped out a plan for overcoming them. His chief drawback, he knew, was his slim knowledge of the basic processes of painting, and in a letter to Dunthorne he wrote: "I shall remain in town the chief of this summer. Indeed I find it necessary to lag at copying some time yet to acquire execution. The more facility of practice I get the more pleasure I shall find in my art, without the power of execution I should be continually embarrassed and it would burden me." The list of masters whose paintings he copied is imposing in length and variety. In partnership with another young artist Richard Reinagle he bought a Ruysdael for 70 pounds. Sir George lent him Claude's Hagar and the Angel to copy and Farington lent him Hadrian's Villa by Wilson. Other references in his letters mention Ruysdael, two more Wilsons and a landscape by Annibale Caracci and there were many others as well. From this time on Constable remained an untiring student of landscape by recognized masters. As a self-imposed and self-disciplined training, his copying gave him what he wanted; a sound knowledge of standard techniques and methods of picture-building which he could use to his own ends.

In 1802, for the first time, one of his paintings was accepted by the academy for exhibition. It was a step forward but he was nevertheless dissatisfied with his progress and felt that a still more serious study of nature was required before he could paint landscape properly. In May of this year he wrote to Dunthorne: "For these past two years I have been running after pictures and seeking the truth at second hand. I have not endeavoured to represent nature with the same

elevation of mind, but have rather endeavoured to make my performance look as if really executed by other men. I am come to a determination to make no idle visits this summer or to give up my time to commonplace people. I shall return to Bergholt, where I shall make some laborious studies from nature, and I shall endeavour to get a pure and unaffected representation of the scenes that may employ me, with respect to colour particularly, and anything else; drawing I am pretty well master of. There is little or nothing in the exhibition worth looking at. There is room enough for a natural painter. The great vice of the present day is "bravura," an attempt at something beyond the truth. In attempting to do something better than well they do what is in reality good for nothing. Fashion always had and will ever have its day; but truth in all things only will last and can have just claims to posterity."

Here, for the first time, Constable was formulating his artistic ideals. He was deliberately abandoning the traditional and fashionable elegance of classical landscape and consciously setting out on his own. For some years, however, his work continued to show clearly the influence of the painters he had copied as well as the fresh results of his own observation.

SLIDE: R Dedham Vale, oil on canvas, 17 1/8 by 13 1/2 ins., V & A, Sept 1802

∠ Claude: Hagar and the Angel (owned by Sir George Beaumont and copied by Constable)

Dedham Vale, 1802, painted over a brown ground which is visible in places, has long been recognized as the source from which Constable composed his large oil painting of the same title exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1828. The Claudian arrangement of a distant view framed between two groups of trees in this representation of Dedham Vale in September 1802 is, according to Shirley, based on Claude's Hagar and the Angel, which it will be recalled, Constable first saw at the house of the Dowager Lady Beaumont in Dedham. Constable, however, has here

added the fresh results of his own observation of nature. The trees in this scene from the countryside endeared to him from its association with his childhood are not forced into the mould of ideal form, mixed in species and improved upon in structure, but recognizably portrayed as they existed. Although they are painted meticulously, leaf by leaf, with single dabs of pigment for individual form they are not arranged in decorative patterns, nor are the irregular outlines of the foilage reduced to rhythmical, scalloped edges. Constable has now begun to pay close attention to the details of natural form and no longer sees nature through the eyes of others. Judged by Claudian standards of taste, to which the critics of his day were accustomed, this painting was deficient in grace and its forms lacked decisive outlines. Judged by the standards Constable was evolving for himself, he could answer that it was closer to the disorderly profusion he saw in nature. The neutral sky and the absence of clouds give a feeling of openness that suggests, perhaps, the influence of the watercolors of Girtin.

Constable's close observation of nature in this study, particularly of the effect of light, led the perceptive and sympathetic West to Remark: "You must have loved nature very much before you could have painted this."

SLIDE: ^{1 R} View from the shore over the Thames or the Medway, pencil and grey wash, 9 1/2 by 1 1/4, V&A, April 1803.

^{1 L} A brig at anchor and other shipping in the Thames, pencil, 7 7/8 by 10 ins, V&A, April 1803.

His Majesty's ship Victory, Capt. E. Harvey, in the Memorable Battle of Trafalgar, between two French ships of the Line. Water color, 20 3/8 by 28 7/8, V&A, 1806.

Wilhem Van de Velde: Boat Scene, Clowes Collection.

In April 1803 Constable made a trip from London to Deal, in the Coutts, East Indiaman, with Captain Torin, a friend of his father. In a letter to Dunthorne dated May 23, 1803 Constable states: " I was near a month on board, and was much employed in making drawings of ships in all situations. I saw all sorts of weather. Some the most delightful, and some as melancholy. But such is the enviable state of a painter that he finds delight in every dress nature can possibly assume."

During the course of this trip Constable made 130 rapid pencil and wash sketches of the shipping he saw along the coast and on the Medway. They are, for the most part, dependent in style on the Dutch seascapists, particularly Van de Velde, whose example he found useful in treating a new type of sujet. ^(R) Constable left the courts at Gravesend to walk to Rochester and Chatham. From Chatham he hired a boat to see the men-of-war in the Medway and sketch His Majesty's Ship Victory in three views. Then he rejoined the ship at Gravesend. Some of these marine sketches made in 1803 were subsequently used as the basis of the 1806 water color drawing of H.M.S Victory. ^(L) The drawing was a failure. It was one of the rare occasions when Constable took an interest in contemporary events and one of his few attempts at historical painting which was then flourishing at the Academy under the leadership of West. At that time historical painting was considered the highest type of art, of far greater value than landscape, and it was finding plenty to do in the service of England's growing nationalism. Nothing indicates Constable's complete love of nature to the exclusion of other interests more clearly than the almost complete lack of reference, not only in his paintings, but in his letters as well, to the events of the times in which he lived--the French Revolution, the rise of "Napoléon," the dark days when England faced him alone and the victories that brought about his downfall.

Much of Constable's activity for the next seven years (1803-10) was to prove a false line of development and in retrospect uncharacteristic of his career. Disgusted with his slow progress and the restricted outlook of the art world in London he was satisfied to spend the greater part of 1804 in a house near his father's painting portraits of farmers and their wives at prices suitable to a small local trade. (3 guineas if a hand were included, 2 if left out). Portraits would sell, while his landscapes could find no buyers. For this economic reason, portrait

painting became a subsidiary and continuing line of activity. His early portraits show that at first he was quite content to work in the established tradition of Reynolds and Lawrence. Later examples, such as the portrait of Mrs. Constable in the National Gallery, are more individual and forceful. It was probably for economic reasons that Constable also in 1804 accepted a commission to paint an altar-piece in the church at Brantham, a small village not far from East Bergholt. The subject, Christ Blessing the Little Children, failed to call forth anything original in treatment. As his portraiture fell back on academic tradition, so in the altar piece he relied heavily on the style of religious painting that was taught at the Academy. The finished work, which still hangs in Brantham Church, indicates that he was here on unfamiliar ground and still almost hopelessly inept at drawing and in modeling figures in light and shade. Constable painted a second altar piece in 1809. Christ Blessing the Elements, in the Nayland Church, which was found, by David Pike Watts, to be guilty of errors on 25 counts, and he did not hesitate to give Constable, his nephew, the benefit of his observations by listing them in a letter.

SLIDE: / R Constable: View in the Lake District, pencil and watercolor, 1806

Girtin: View of Hills and River, watercolor, c. 1800.

Constable: View in Barrowdale, pencil and watercolor, 7 1/2 by 10 3/4 ins, oct. 4, 1806, V&A, "Dark Autumnal day at noon, tone more blooming, this effect exceedingly terrific, and much like the beautiful Gaspar I saw in Margaret Street"

Cozens, J. R.: View of Island of Elba

In 1806 Constable made a trip to the Lake District where he spent the better part of September and October. The mountainous region of Cumberland and Westmoreland had become a recognized substitute for the Alps of Suisse and Italie, closed to English travellers by the Napoleonic blockade. They offered an easily accessible district in which nature could be enjoyed in its grander aspects, wild and unspoiled by man.

Constable's reactions to the mountains were un-conventional. Instead of admiring the scenery, he found the solemn loneliness of the mountains and their immensity unattractive in comparasison with the spaciousness of flat river valleys. In his biography of Constable, Leslie reports: "I have heard him say that the solitude of mountains oppressed his spirits. His nature was primarily social and could not feel satisfied with scenery, however grand in itself, that did not abound in human associations. He required villages, churches, farm-houses, and I believe it was as much from natural temperament as from early impressions that his first love, in landscape, was also his latest love."

/L These romantic views of mountain scenery done by Constable on his trip to the Lake District in 1806 are, as Graham Reynolds has determined, primarily derivative. They are in the tradition of John Robert Cozens and reflect, it can be argued, the direct influence of Girtin's watercolors. Girtin's example helped Constable to here attain that broader, less detailed rendering of form and spaciousness of planning that would become characteristic of his subsequent compositions. The simple shapes of the mountains, the wide flat areas of tone, the color schemes of dark greens and browns and purples all echo Gritin's work. /L Constable's watercolors of the Lakes, however, do not have the more subtle qualities of Girtin's smooth flowing washes and his careful gradations of tones. Constable's washes are dry, with sharp nervous edges that capitalize on the roughness of the paper to suggest the vibration of light. His highlights, conveying light shattering into splinters on an uneven hillside, are often obtained by scraping the paper vigorously with a knife (Voir: View in Barrowdale). It is these sketches done on the 1806 Lake District trip that provide the bases of most of Constables works during the next three years, 1807-10.

The period 1803-1810, a period which in retrospect would be seen

as uncharacteristic of Constable's career, nevertheless must not be ignored, for it was during these six or seven years that Constable, through his portraiture in the tradition of Reynolds and Lawrence, his watercolors in the manner of Girtin, and his feeble attempts at painting altar pieces, had mastered drawing and learned to make his color both rich and natural. In addition he learned to limit his subject matter to his native countryside.

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SLIDE: Constable; Dedham Vale, 1811, oil on canvas, 31 by 51 ins, collection of Major R. G. Proby

R Reubens: Sunset Landscape

In 1811 Constable sent a landscape to the Royal Academy called Twilight. The painting was referred to by Farrington as "a view near Dedham, Essex" and is now known as Dedham Vale, 1811. Here Constable displayed the full results of his long training in the techniques of the old masters. He used a dark reddish brown for the underpainting, fresh solid pigment to throw objects into relief, and warm glazes to pull the painting together. It was well received by the Academy and Sir Thomas Lawrence, the future president, recognized its beauty and twice singled it out for favourable comment. In the development of his style, Dedham Vale 1811, marked the close of Constable's early period of apprenticeship. This painting gives so clear and detailed a panorama of the heart of Constable's country that Reynolds has used it for the identification of topographical features and landmarks beloved by the artist. Although Constable is no longer running after nature at second hand, for the most part at least, the broad meadows with the sun falling across them of Dedham Vale, 1811 are reminiscent of the Landscapes of Reubens. The Chateau de Stein of Reubens, owned by Sir George Beaumont, was one of Constable's favourite pictures.

4
SLIDE: Barges on the Stour, with Dedham Church in the Distance,
c. 1811, oil on paper laid on canvas, 10 1/4 by 12 1/4 ins.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

In many ways the oil sketches of Constable, which date from the year 1810 onward, are the surest guide to his artistic and spiritual struggle for self-expression. Most of these sketches, painted on the spot under the direct inspiration of nature, reveal a fresh naturalism of outlook and capture what were essentially passing manifestations of nature and changing effects of light. In these small works Constable avoided the pitfalls of emotional involvement on the one hand and on the other of dry literalness. Being relatively small, they did not present the problems of handling paint over a large area, with its attendant risks of losing immediacy. Although a few were used as studies for large-scale works, and others as subjects to be engraved in the English Landscape series, they were, by and large, painted in the first place for the artists own pleasure and instruction, i. e., as ends in themselves. Examples of painting in oil on paper can be found on the continent as early as the 16th century, but Constable appears to have been the first to fully exploit its possibilities for rapid sketching from nature. One of the most remarkable of Constable's oil sketches is Barges on the Stour with Dedham Church in the distance. Herein his command of effects of light is seen in the subtle misty tones in the darkness which comes before a summer rain storm. The immediacy of his apprehension of all the features of the landscape, their relevance to and subordination in the general effect, is conveyed by the dashing strokes of his fully charged brush which encompasses detail without losing breadth. In all probability the view represented in this sketch is the lock at Flatford, painted with the artists back to Flatford Mill. Here the artist has avoided the obvious device of adding a flash of

lightning and relied instead on subtle lighting effects and combinations of colours within a limited palette to achieve the eerie effect of the darkness before an impending storm.

SLIDE: Study of a cart and horses, with a carter and dog. Oct. 1814
Oil on paper with a brown ground, 6 1/2 by 9 3/8, V & A.

R Stour Valley and Dedham Village, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

In 1814 Constable put his name down for election as an Associate of the Royal Academy for the third time. As in 1809 and 1810, he was defeated. The Academicians were willing to credit Constable with good design but they felt his paintings looked unfinished because he would not take the trouble to paint in the details carefully. This was the usual criticism applied to Constable's work by those who failed to understand or appreciate his shorthand description of form. He was not shirking his duty as the academicians thought. On the contrary he was giving up the superficial appeal of highly wrought imitative painting for a sound reason. He was painting the total visual impression of a landscape in terms of tone, not in terms of accumulated detail, and to do so the sharp definition of individual objects had to be subordinated to over all effects. The Academicians were unaware that Constable was moving steadily towards the mode of vision that would be most characteristic of 19th century painting.

The oppositions and criticism which greeted his innovations in style did not discourage him from continuing his experiments. In Oct he wrote to Maria Bicknell, the woman he would marry on Dec 6, 1816, "We have had a most delightful season. It is many years since I have pursued my studies so uninterruptedly and so calmly, or worked with so much steadiness or confidence. I hope you will see me an artist sometime or another." One of the works done this summer was an oil

sketch of "A Cart and Horses." Herein can be seen Constable's new sureness of brush stroke as well as his new grasp of three dimensional form. The critics, however, were not impressed with this development in style and continued to deplore the coarseness of his handling.

This sketch is one of a number of studies in both pencil and oils for the Stour Valley and Dedham Village in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The Boston picture represents a broad view over the stour valley, seen from an elevated position on a road. In the foreground men are shovelling gravel and two horses are harnassed to a cart beside which a dog is seated. As Beckett points out, the scene most likely represents a view of Dedham from the vicinity of Old Hall, East Bergholt. The artist appears to have taken great pains with the picture, and there are at least eleven studies connected with it.

SLIDE: Boat Building near Flatford Mill, oil on canvas, size of painted surface 20 by 24 1/4 inches., V&A., 1815

Constable was determined to become a member of the Royal Academy. To do so he realized that he must impress the academicians and the critics. For that reason, as well as his desire to please his fiancé's father, who was cynical of Constable's artistic merit, he completed the open-air oil we see before us. In a sense the painting owes its particular qualities to family pressure and to advice from Farrington, as a result of which Constable made a renewed study of the paintings of Claude before going into the country with the resolve that he would paint a picture entirely in the open air and more highly finished than was his custom. The cool colour of the Boat Building, which Leslie noted as eminently expressive of the heat of a summer day, is also evidence that Constable studied Claude to good effect. Compared with the dash and freedom of his oil sketches there is an atmosphere of constraint about some of the detail and the management of the composition; but he was able to introduce more breadth in a few details, such as the boy's back and the high lights on the tools. There is an un-assuming naturalism about the work consistent with its having been painted in the open air, but the greater pains bestowed upon the composing of the work have deprived it of some of the spontaneity seen in the open air oil sketches, Barges on the Stour with Dedham Church in the distance, for example, ^(R) or Weymouth Bay, done on his honeymoon in October, 1816.

SLIDE: Weymouth Bay, oil on millboard, 8 by 9 3/4 ins. 1816, V&A

John Constable and Maria Bicknell were married by Fisher at Saint Martin's-in-the-Fields, London, on October 2, 1816. The newly married couple accepted Fisher's invitation to spend their honeymoon in Dorset and remained there for the better part of the autumn. The most interesting scenery seems to have been the coastline of Weymouth Bay, where the hairpin curve of the beach sweeping into the distance past steep cliffs and rolling downs was unexpectedly impressive. This oil sketch of Weymouth Bay, with its wild, dramatic and stormy sky, as well as the composition as a whole, clearly demonstrates that Constable, in his oil sketches, which were not exhibited during his lifetime, was much less dependent on past traditions and conventions than in his works finished for exhibition.

(R) SLIDE: A Scene on the River Stour, Frick Collection, 1819.

Constable's marriage inaugurated the happiest, most productive and successful years of his professional career. Moods of nostalgia and longing gave way to exhilarating joy in the present. All his senses took on a new keenness in probing out afresh the qualities of nature which delighted him most--the brilliance of sunshine and its warmth, the cooling freshness of morning dew and summer showers, the fecundity of meadows and the drama of cloud and wind-filled skies. The next five years, 1816-21, are marked by a change in Constable's work habits. After his marriage he set himself to paint pictures which should embody much more ambitiously than anything he had yet produced his sentiment for the valley of the Stour. He had laid the foundations and had a variety of sketches to draw on and soon settled down to concentrate in earnest into welding them into large compositions to be painted, not

in the open air, but, without loss of natural colour and feeling, in his studio. With the completion, exhibition at the Royal Academy, and sale of the White Horse in 1819 he first succeeded in this aim. This "Scene on the River Stour", which later became known, from the white horse in the barge in the foreground, as the White Horse, was the largest work Constable had yet produced and the first of a series of six foot canvases on which his reputation depended during his lifetime and for many years afterwards. If the sketch of this subject, which is now in the Widener Collection in Washington, can be accepted as genuine, it was also the first instance in which he is known to have used a full sized sketch in the preparation of the finished picture. The White Horse attracted more attention than anything he had previously exhibited. The press hailed it enthusiastically. The author of a review in the Literary Chronicle exclaimed in astonished praise: "What a grasp of everything beautiful in rural scenery." The critic ~~in~~ the examiner elaborately contrasted his style with Turner's, dividing honours between the two: "He does not give a sentiment, a soul, to the exterior of nature as Mr. Turner does; he does not at all exalt the spectator's mind, which Mr. Turner eminently does, but he gives her outward look, her complexion, her physical countenance. He has none of the poetry of nature like Mr. Turner, but he has more of her portraiture." These favourable press reviews were indications that recognition for his work should not be long in coming. Constable, in fact, was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy on November 1, 1819, winning over the head of his friend Leslie. Constable was now 43.

The preparation of a large canvas each year/^{was} a goal he now set for himself to reach during the remainder of his life, though it was by no means easy for him to keep up the pace. Each painting was the result of careful study and unending experiment. Initial ideas were usually contained in small pencil sketches made in many cases without any conscious thought of the larger composition that would follow. The first

conception of the composition as a whole was, in many cases, a small oil study boldly blocking out the main masses of tone. Studies in oil, water color or pencil dealing with fractions of the whole theme that presented special difficulties often followed. Then to test the carrying power of the design magnified in scale, to study the relationships of the main masses of tone and detail, and exercise his hand in the broader rhythms necessary for work on a large canvas he often painted a sketch of the same dimensions as the finished picture.

SLIDE: Fir trees at Hampstead, pencil, 9 1/8 by 6 1/4 ins, Oct, 2, 1820; Victoria and Albert Museum.

Not only had Constable won critical acclaim for a large oil painting. In the following year, 1820, Blake is said to have seen a drawing in Constable's sketch book of fir trees and to have exclaimed: "Why this is not drawing, this is inspiration." Constable replied: "I never knew that before, I meant it for drawing."

R SLIDE: Watermeadows near Salisbury, oil on canvas, date unknown, V&A

A further demonstration of the virtuosity of Constable in the early twenties is seen in his "Watermeadows near Salisbury", referred to by Hawes as "the most illusionistic landscape Constable ever painted." It is a small oil painting which is to all intents and purposes an out-of-doors sketch. Reynolds erroneously dates the painting 1829. Hawes, in his review of the Catalog of the Constable Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum, demonstrates that the placid mood of the landscape, the unforced naturalness of all the forms and reflections, and the exceptionally naturalistic color, bespeak Constable's style of the early twenties. This is the painting by Constable which, when it came before the council of the Academy in 1830 was rejected as "the nasty green thing", although it should have been hung without

scrutiny since Constable was then an Academician.

① SLIDE: Wivenhoe Park, National Gallery, Washington, 1816.

Although Constable did not actually settle permanently in Hampstead until 1827, he was accustomed during the early twenties to move there in the summer with his somewhat delicate wife and young children, and Hampstead is perhaps particularly associated with his studies of clouds, many of them painted in 1821-22, which are among the more original of his achievements. Reynolds and Hawes have convincingly demonstrated that these cloud studies of 1821 and 1822 are not, as Kurt Badt once suggested, the result of a direct influence on Constable of Luke Howards cloud classifications which appeared in volume one of his Climate of London, published in 1818. Howard's book probably played a part but conceivably not by suggesting considerations which had not previously occurred to Constable, but rather by crystallizing his ideas. Badt's thesis that there is a causal relationship between the publication of Howards meteorological text and the appearance of Constable's cloud studies is, as Hawes has stated, a zealous oversimplification, which does not consider the background of Constable. Constable, it will be recalled, was the son of a miller and worked in his fathers mills for a period of three years. As such he was very early given to observing carefully the changing atmospheric conditions of the sky over East Bergholt. A further refutation of Badt's ^{causal} thesis is offered by the fact that Constable, as early as 1800, showed a vivid interest in cloud formations. In that year he made a series of twenty pencil copies of cloud forms after engravings by Alexander Cozens. Constable's interest in clouds can also be seen in his works painted before 1818, the publication date of Howard's text. Weymouth Bay (1816) and

Wivenhoe Park (1816), which we see before us, both clearly show Constable's awareness of the sky in landscape painting. Both works were exhibited before the publication of Howards classification of cloud forms.

Constable's understanding of the significance of the sky in landscape painting is clearly stated in the now famous letter of October 23, 1821 to Fisher: " I have done a good deal of skying. I am determined to conquer all difficulties, and that most arduous one among the rest. And now, talking of skies, it is amusing to us to see how admirably you fight my battles; you certainly take the best possible ground for getting your friend out of a scrape. That landscape painter who does not make his skies a very material part of his composition, neglects to avail himself of one of his greatest aids. Sir Joshua Reynolds, speaking of the landscapes of Titian, of Salvator and of Claude, says, "Even their skies seem to sympathize with their subjects." I have often been advised to consider my sky as a white sheet thrown behind the objects. Certainly, if the sky is obtrusive, as mine are, it is bad; but if it is evaded, as mine are not, it is worse; it must and always shall be with me an effectual part of the composition. It will be difficult to name a class of landscape in which the sky is not the keynote, the standard of scale, and the chief organ of sentiment. You may conceive, then, what a white sheet would do for me, impressed as I am with these notions, and they cannot be erroneous. The sky is the source of light in Nature, and governs everything; even our common observations on the weather of the day are altogether suggested by it. The difficulty of skies in painting is very great, both as to composition and execution; because with all their brilliancy, they ought not to come forward, or, indeed, be hardly thought of any more than extreme distances are; but this does not apply to phenomena or accidental effects of sky, because they always attract particularly. I may say

this to you, though you do not want to be told that I know very well what I am about, and that my skies have not been neglected."

IR
SLIDE: Study of sky and trees at Hampstead, 1821, oct 2, oil on paper,
9 5/8 by 11 3/4, V&A

IL Study of sky and trees. Oil on paper, 10 by 11 3/4, c. 1821, V&A
Study of Clouds, Sept 5, 1822, 11 3/4 by 19 inches, V&A, oil on paper.

Study of Cirrus Clouds, c. 1822, 4 1/2 by 7 ins, V&A, oil on paper.

The cloud studies of 1821 are not, for the most part, pure studies of clouds. Treetops or parts of buildings are included as in the two sketches in oil on paper we see before us now. Constable observed the foliage catching the sunlight in small patches of light and recorded the direction and force of the wind which caused the rapid change of the clouds. In these 1821 cloud studies there is a much greater sense of changing light and the catching of passing effects than in the pure cloud studies which belong to the following year, 1822. L² R²

These two cloud studies of 1822 are among the fifty or so pure sky studies done in that year by Constable at Hampstead. Although these sketches were undertaken as a means to an end, as working studies to develop the feeling for aerial space and light in his finished compositions, they were never surpassed. Particularly in the skies of his later work, Constable failed to recapture the unforced, natural quality of these sketches done in 1821 and 22 at Hampstead. These sketches done directly from nature in oil on paper, moreover, merit being considered, ^{together} with Constable's six foot canvases, as his most original work.

SLIDE: ^L First sketch of the Hay Wain, Melon Collection, Washington.

^R Full-scale study for the Hay Wain, oil on canvas, 54 by 74 ins., c. 1821, Victoria and Albert Museum.

The Hay Wain, oil on canvas, 51 1/4 by 73 in; National Gallery, London.

On April 1, 1821 Constable wrote to Fisher, after a winter of steady work in his studio: "My picture goes to the Academy on the 10th, it is not so grand as Tinney's. Owing perhaps to the masses not being so impressive, the power of the chiaroscuro is lessened but it has a more novel look than I expected. I have yet much to do with it, and calculate for three or four days there." The picture of which Constable here speaks is the Hay Wain, which appeared in the ^{name slide} catalog of the exhibition at the Royal Academy as Landscape--Noon. The Hay Wain marks the turning point in a long, stubborn struggle. It was painted in a year when Constable's fortunes began to mend, and is the fruit of a renewed self-confidence. In it he is able to carry out on a large scale the principles which he had long maintained in his sketches and his letters. The methods by which he contrived to carry the breadth and freshness of a small picture into a large one can be followed at every step, since, from the Hay Wain onwards, each important composition is the culmination of a series of studies, most of which survive. The germ of each composition is to be found in the hundreds of tiny pencil drawings from nature which provided him with his general material; but the first decisive step is a small and very rough sketch in oils which states ^(on the left) the main theme of the picture with dramatic emphasis. Oil sketches of intermediary size, and variant renderings of difficult passages follow and then comes the really surprising and essential step. Constable makes a study in oils the size of the final picture. ^(on the rt)

motives in doing so were, perhaps, more psychological than technical. "Painting" as he said "is for me another word for feeling," and his feelings about nature could only be expressed in a language too vivid for the taste of the day. The boldness and freedom of his touch were partly a means of rendering effects of light, partly a means of expressing emotion; and it was only possible to conserve the vividness of the original emotion on this scale if he felt free from all anxieties of finish and logical composition. The full-size studies were not so much dress rehearsals as emotional discharges which allowed him to attack his final canvas without a feeling of frustration. (HL)

The general composition of both the full-sized oil study in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the completed canvas in the National Gallery in London is essentially the same, except for minor differences in the number and placing of the figures. Nevertheless, the finished canvas presents a marked contrast to the full-sized oil sketch. The sketch has none of the quietness of the finished picture. It is filled throughout with nervous movement resulting from a freer use of the palette knife and brush and a scattering of rich impasto for highlights. In addition, the range of color in the full-sized oil sketch is not as great as in the National Gallery canvas. The Victoria and Albert Hay Wey is almost a monochrome compared to the National Gallery version, the greens being kept down to khaki and the blues, for the most part, to grey. The finished canvas similarly demonstrates that Constable established more firmly the planes, particularly noticeable in the middle distance, and enriched the drawing. The figures in the foreground in the oil sketch have been removed, according to Kenneth Clark, for Constable at this time was so intent on naturalness as to avoid any appearance of artifice. Actually there is one note in the

National Gallery version which, however, according to Clark, is slightly artificial: the red harness. The tiresome convention that a spot of red was necessary to off-set the green of a landscape was so firmly established and invariably used by Morlant, Bonington, de Louthembourg, Turner--every landscape painter up to Courbet--that Constable seems to have been almost unconscious of it.

Since in three years time the art world of Paris would be greatly affected by the revolutionary naturalism of the Hay Wain, it is interesting to learn what the critics had to say when it appeared at the Academy in 1821. It did not create a sensation. Whitley, in his *Art in England 1821-37*, has listed seven prominent London journals and newspapers which took no notice of it in their reviews of the exhibition. Charles Nodier, a visiting Frenchman, in a travel book entitled Promenade de Dieppe aux Montagnes d'Ecosse published on his return to France, wrote: "The palm of the exhibition belongs to a large landscape by Constable to which the ancient or modern masters have very few masterpieces that could be put in opposition. Near, it is only broad daubings of ill-laid colour with offend the touch as well as the sight, they are so coarse and uneven. At the distance of a few steps, it is picturesque country, rustic dwellings, a low river where little waves foam over the pebbles, a cart crossing the pond. It is water, air, sky. It is Ruysdael, Wouwerman or Constable." This enthusiasm of Nodier was typical of the French reaction to Constable's work. Three years later, in 1824, the Hay Wain, together with a view on the River Stour and a small picture of Yarmouth were sold to the Paris dealer Arrowsmith for 250 pounds. Later in that year Arrowsmith bought three more of Constable's canvases and commissioned seven additional ones. His friend Schroth, also a dealer in Paris, was introduced to Constable and he in turn placed an order for three. Further signs that Constable's reputation was growing

on the continent were given by visits to his studio by the director of the Academy at Antwerp and a sale to a French viscount. Before Constable's dealings with Arrowsmith and Schroth came to an end in 1825, partially the result of a clash of personalities and partially the result of quarreling over prices, twenty seven examples of his art had made their way to France. This is an important fact which will be considered in a later section of this paper when an attempt to estimate Constable's influence on 19th century art in general will be undertaken.

(R) SLIDE: Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's grounds, oil on canvas, 34 1/2 by 44 inches, the painting is executed on a thin linen laid on a coarser canvas.

Constable's large Academy picture for 1823 was "Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's grounds," of which he wrote to Fisher reporting how well it was received by the academy: "My Cathedral looks well, it is much approved by the Academy. It was the most difficult subject in landscape I ever had on my easel. I have not flinched at the work of the windows, buttresses, etc, but I have still kept to my grand organ color and effect, and have, as usual, make my escape in the evanescence of the chiaroscuro. I think you will like it." This painting, an interruption to the series of canal and river scenes, was undertaken rather grudgingly as a commission for Bishop Fisher. Constable has left a vivid account of his struggles with this picture, in which he had to meet his patron's desire for an exact portrayal of the cathedral, and to combine this with his own conception of a pictorial treatment. The latter required the animated sky with its black cloud behind the Cathedral spire, which never satisfied the Bishop and which, after remaining a point of contention for two years, was the occasion of

Constable's painting another version without it. One of these later versions, signed and dated 1826, is now in the Frick Collection in NYC. In his description of this painting Leslie seems to be primarily concerned with the cows beneath the seemingly invented trees. He states: "In the foreground Constable introduced a circumstance familiar to all who are in the habit of observing cattle. With cows there is generally, if not always, one which is called, not very accurately, the master cow, and there is scarcely anything the rest of the herd will venture to do until the master cow has taken the lead. On the left of the picture this individual is drinking and turns with surprise and jealousy to another cow approaching the canal lower down for the same purpose. They are of the Suffolk breed, without horns; and it is a curious mark of Constable's fondness for everything connected with his native country that scarcely an instance can be found of a cow in any of his pictures, be the scene where it may, with horns."

SLIDE: / A study for "A boat passing a Lock" (The Lock): Detail-man at lock; oil, 53 3/4 by 48, Phila. Museum of Art, 1822

R A Boat passing a Lock, Royal Academy, London.

A Boat Passing a Lock, (The Lock), went to the Academy exhibition of 1824, where it was received favorably, despite Constable's feelings of incompleteness and trepidation. In a letter to Fisher Constable discusses this painting as follows: "My lock is liked at the Academy, and indeed it forms a decided feature, and its light cannot be put out, because it is the light of nature, the mother of all that is valuable in poetry, painting, or anything else where an appeal to the soul is required. The language of the heart is the only one that is universal, and as Sterne says, he disregards all rules, but makes his way to the heart as he can. My execution annoys most of them and all the scholastic

ones. Perhaps the sacrifice I make for lightness and brightness is too much, but these things are the essence of landscape and any extreme is better than white lead and dado painting. I sold this picture on the day of the opening, one hundred and fifty guineas including the frame to Mr. Morrison. I do hope that my exertions may tend towards popularity." Five years later, 1829, Constable was elected a Royal Academician. He repeated the same subject for his diploma canvas.

(R)

SLIDE: Brighton Beach, with colliers, oil on paper, 5 7/8 by 9 3/4 ins, July 19, 1824

The lightness and brightness of "A boat passing a lock" is similarly seen in Brighton Beach with Colliers of the same year, 1824. This oil sketch is inscribed on the back in pencil: "3d tide receding left the beach wet--Head of the Chain Pier Brighton Beach July 19 Evg., 1824 My Dear Maria's Birthday your Goddaughter--Very lovely Evening--looking eastward--cliffs and light off a dark grey--background very white and golden light." Constable has achieved a remarkable sense of atmosphere in this little sketch, which he painted as he sat at the head of Chain Pier. A warm clear light pervades the whole picture, and there is a gentle breeze filling the white sails of the barges as a fine summer day draws to a close. This sketch was among a group of sketches which Constable lent to Fisher. Referring to them in a letter of the 5th of January 1825, addressed to Fisher, he says, "I have enclosed in the box a dozen of my oil sketches--perhaps the sight of the sea may cheer Mrs. Fisher; they were done in the lid of my box on my knees as usual." Fisher returned them 3 months later, together with two volumes of Paley's sermons which, he said, "are fit companions of your sketches, being exactly like them: full of vigour, and mature, fresh, original, warm from observation of nature, hasty, unpolished, untouched afterwards."

SLIDE: ^(L) Full-Scale study for "The Leaping Horse", oil on canvas, 51 by 74 inches, c. 1825, Victoria and Albert Museum.

^(R) The Leaping Horse, London, Royal Academy, 1825

Constable's most important work in the Academy exhibition of 1825 was the Leaping Horse. It was a canal scene, as Constable remarked in a letter to Fisher, "full of the bustle incident to such a scene with dogs, horses, boys and Men and Women and Children, and best of all old timber-props, Water plants, Willow stumps, sedges, old nets etc." Many people believe this to be Constable's greatest masterwork. Others have preferred the wonderful and dynamic sketch in oil in the Victoria and Albert Museum which Andrew Forge called "the first instance of an art which is all personal expression." The Victoria-Albert study in oil for the Leaping Horse ^(on the left in color) is carried so far that we may well believe, as is hinted by Leslie in the first edition of his life of Constable, that it was first intended to be the finished picture, but afterwards turned into a sketch. Here the effect of overwhelming power and of demoniac energy is primarily conveyed by the summary treatment. Its solemnity is aided by the remarkable unity of light, and the multitude of small accents do not disturb it by a distracting glitter, for they are all subordinate to, and justified by, the main effect. This is perhaps the only composition by Constable in which the action of the figures gives the key to the feeling of the whole; the energy of the horse's leap has transmitted itself to the landscape, the sky, and the painter's method. The painting is not so much the exhaustion of a rich stream of ideas as its conclusive summing up.

In reference to the finished painting ^{on the right} Forge has remarked: "The whole scene is concerned with violent urgency as a clash of light and dark, with ~~drumming~~ ^{drumming} ~~hovering~~ ^{hovering} ~~streaks~~ ^{streaks} and turbulent sky. It is imaginative

rather than inventive in the way that Turner invents a make-believe atmosphere, and Constable may well have witnessed a scene very like this. But once again he has controlled and articulated his subject in impressions by basing it, like so many of his other compositions, on the pictorial conventions of the Roman school of Poussin and Claude, which involves the strong intersection of verticals and horizontals, between which he deploys the gradual movements backwards in space. Witness the square block of trees at the left and the nearly vertical stumps, trees, and mast which divide the canvas into orderly compartements.

Leslie explains the title of this painting as follows: "The chief object in the foreground is a horse mounted by a boy, leaping one of the barriers which cross the towing paths along the Stour to prevent the cattle from quitting their bounds. As these bars are without gates, the horses, which are of a much finer race, and kept in better condition than the wretched animals that tow the barges near London, all are taught to leap; their harness ornamented over the collar with crimson fringe adds to their picturesque appearance, and Constable, by availing himself of these advantages, and relieving the horse, which is of a dark colour, upon a bright sky, makes him a very imposing object."

(R) SLIDE: Hadleigh Castle, 1829, oil on canvas, 56 1/4 by 66 inches, Tate Gallery, London.

On November 28, 1828 Maria Constable died. Her death was a blow from which Constable never entirely recovered. On February 10, 1829 Constable was elected a Royal Academician. It followed only a few months after the death of Constable's mother. He complained bitterly when the news reached him that the honour came too late since he could no longer share it. According to the custom, newly elected Academicians called on the president, Sir Thomas Lawrence, to pay their respects. Lawrence offended Constable deeply by implying that he should consider

himself very fortunate in being elected over the heads of historical painters of great talent who were waiting on the list of candidates. The president's attitude, which Constable knew was shared by many others who placed subject matter first in judging painting, made it appear an act of justice rather than a mark of distinction. Instead of feeling more secure in the knowledge that he had now reached the top of the ladder, Constable lost his nerve over the picture he was preparing to send to the exhibition, deciding that it should go only if his friends thought it was good enough. He wrote to Leslie for his opinion. Hadleigh Castle, the picture he had submitted to Leslie for judgement, finally went to the Academy. His idea for Hadleigh Castle probably dated back to his first visit to the ruins in 1803. Just as Constable never travelled expressly for subjects, so he did not draw expressly as a preliminary to painting, though he might at any later time turn back to neglected pages of his sketch books for subjects, as he did in this instance. Hadleigh Castle is the first painting done by Constable after the death of his wife Maria. Poole appropriately refers to this painting as "an elegy for Maria, and a melancholy if impressive dirge it is." After his wife's death Constable was subject to fits of depression and he was often considered argumentative by his friends. "How for so wise purpose is every bit of sunshine clouded over in me," he wrote, "Can it be wondered at that I paint continual storms--'Tempest o'er tempest rolled'? Still the darkness is majestic and I have not to accuse myself of ever having prostituted the moral feeling of Art. My canvas soothes me into a forgetfulness of the scene of turmoil and folly and worse." The painting fully embodies the following lines from Thomson's Summer, with which its title was accompanied in the catalogue of the exhibition:

"The desert joys
Wildly, through all his melancholy bounds,
Rude ruins glitter; and the briny deep,
Seen from some pointed promontory's top,
Far to the blue horizon's utmost verge,
Restless, reflects a floating gleam."

(L) SLIDE: Stonehenge, watercolor, 15 1/4 by 23 1/4 ins. 1836, V&A

Peter Paul Reubens: Landscape with a rainbow, oil on wood,
37 1/4 by 48 1/2, Munich, mid 1630's.

The last seven years of Constable's life were a period of disheartenment, aggravated by poor health and a general loss of vitality. Age magnified his susceptibility to disappointments and criticism. Many who knew him chiefly in these last years remembered him as an embittered and disillusioned old man. The Academy paintings of this last period lost the warmth and open air freshness that had characterized those of the previous decade. Stonehenge, a watercolor in the V&A, painted in 1836, is a representative example of the stormy moods which now predominated, seeking expression in sudden violent shiftings of light and high winds. Water color, which he had used sparingly for some years, now became a favorite medium. This water color of Stonehenge, with its mood of romantic desolation, celestial fireworks, and turbulent sky demonstrates that Constable, in his last years, was not incapable of exploiting the emotional possibilities of a subject to the highest possible degree. The mount of this water color bears the inscription: "Stonehenge, the mysterious monument of Stonehenge, standing remote on a bare and boundless heath, as much unconnected with the events of past ages as it is with the uses of the present; ^{it} carries you back beyond all historical records into the obscurity of a totally unknown period." (R) The double rainbow introduced into this composition perhaps shows the influence of Reubens, whose landscapes Constable ^{had} admired for over 40 yrs.

On March 31, 1837, Constable died. His influence was felt in both England and France but not to the same degree or with the same consequences in each case. In England he found no immediate followers who could encompass the imaginative power of his work or elaborate on his technique. Those who studied his examples were men of lesser capacity. The two major English landscape painters of the generation after Constable, David Cox (1783-1859) and Peter de Wint (1784-1849) were essentially water colorists. Some of Constable's interest in the changing effects of weather reappeared in Cox, who was most at home on wide moorlands overhung with leaden skies and peopled with little figures scurrying through gusts of wind and rain. Sometimes his subjects were treated with vigour and earnestness and sometimes they were merely pretty in the Victorian manner. Cox spent a part of his early career as a scene painter for the theater which probably explains why his work is frequently superficial in its handling and lacking in the strong sense of material substance which underlines all of Constable's painting. De Wint, whose technical skill, sense of colour and broad fluid handling *is superior to Cox and* sometimes approached Constable in spirit in his fondness for cool shady trees or hot cornfields. For the most part, however, Constable had little influence on landscape painting ^{in England} in the years following his death. No artists of pioneering genius appeared on the scene to carry forward his study of outdoor light and color. But Constable was not alone in failing to stir up and considerable following, for the same applies to Turner, who found only second rate disciples in J. B. Pyne and William Severn. The explanation is found in general changes which were taking place in English art. With the growth of industrialism and the rise of a new and wealthy middle class, who rapidly became more influential as patrons of art, sentimentality in landscape assumed greater importance than accurate observation or technical experiment.

The rise of the Pre-Raphaelite movement also destroyed landscape as Constable had known it. The pre-Raphaelites rebelled against genre painting in all its forms and demanded precise images that conveyed specific meanings and worthwhile subjects treated in the clear and descriptive manner of early Renaissance painting. They wanted a message, and landscape as Constable had understood it, lacked the importance of of content upon which they insisted. Whenever the pre-Raphaelites turned to landscape, which was seldom, they recorded natural appearances with infinite pains but they ignored the unifying effects of light or the suggestions of movement and change which had been fundamental laws in all of Constable's paintings.

Constable's paintings, however, had a maximum effect in France. It will be recalled that before Constable's dealings with the Parisian art dealers Arrowsmith and Schroth had come to an end in 1825, 27 examples of his art had made their way to France, among them the Hay Wain and A View on the Stour, as well as Hampstead Heath. On Feb. 17, 1824 Constable wrote to Fisher announcing Arrowsmith's intention to exhibit his works in the French capital. He said in that letter: "His object is to take a show of my pictures to Paris--perhaps to my advantage--for a prophet is not known in his own country." Fisher shrewdly replied: "The stupid English public, which has no judgement of its own, will begin to think that there is something in you if the French make your works national property. You have long laid under a mistake. Men do not purchase pictures because they admire them, but because others covet them."

The pictures exhibited at the Salon in Paris were a great success, and Constable was awarded a gold medal Charles X. The highest praises came from Géricault and Delacroix, both of whom recognized in Constable's work an original style. Géricault, who saw the Hay Wain

at the Royal Academy in 1821 returned "tout étourdi" and Delacroix declared in his journal, after visiting the salon of 1824: "Cet homme Constable m'a fait beaucoup de bien." (P) Delacroix was apparently struck by the brilliance and texture of the Hay Wain and returning to his studio where the Massacre de Scio was almost finished, he introduced rich semitones, gave transparency to the trees by means of glazing and added thick pigment to the lights. Villot adds that Delacroix had at once surprised one of Constable's secrets--the subdivision of colors. (X)

Because of his reception in Paris, Constable has sometimes been considered as the man who inspired the Barbizon painters and the French impressionists. No matter how much he may have appeared to anticipate them, this view is in danger of missing the point. The stifling influence of the increasingly powerful bourgeoisie in restoration France brought about its own reaction in certain French circles, and it was among these men that Constable was recognized as a kindred spirit. In a letter to Théophile Silvestre, Delacroix declared: "Constable, homme admirable, est une des gloires anglaises. Je vous en ai déjà parlé de l'impression qu'il m'avait produite au moment où je peignais le Massacre de Scio. Lui et Turner sont de véritables réformateurs. Ils sont sortis de l'ornière des paysagistes anciens. Notre école qui abonde maintenant en hommes de talent dans ce genre, a grandement profité de leur exemple." The qualities here admired by Delacroix are precisely those that Hazlitt, in his Spirit of the Age, praised in the poetry of Wordsworth. They apply equally as well to the landscapes of Constable and provide a fitting epilogue to this study of Constable's art. In 1825 Hazlitt remarked: "Seeing the path of classical and artificial poetry blocked up by the cumbrous ornaments of style and turgid commonplaces, so that nothing more could be achieved in that direction but by the most ridiculous bombast or the tamest servility, he has turned back, he has struck into the sequestered vale of humble life, sought out the Muse among sheepcotes and hamlets and endeavoured to aggrandize the trivial, and add the charm

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of novelty to the familiar. No one has shown the same imagination in raising trifles into importance. He has described all these objects in a way and with an intensity of feeling that no one else had done before him, and has given a new view or aspect of nature. He is in this sense the most original poet now living, and the one whose writings could the least be spared; for they have no substitute elsewhere."

John Constable (June 11, 1776-December 31 1837)

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1. Self -Portrait, pencil 1806, private Coll.
 2. Landscape with a stream at Wenham, pen & ink, V & A, 1796
Cottage at East Bergholt, pen and ink, V & A, 1796
 3. Dedham Vale, oil on canvas, V & A, Sept. 1802
Claude: Hagar and the Angel
 4. View from the shore over the Thames or the Medway, pencil and grey wash, V&A, April 1803
A brig at anchor and other shipping in the Thames, pencil, V&A, April 1803
His Majesty's Ship Victory, water color, V&A, 1806.
Wilhelm Van de Velde: Boat Scene, Clowes Collection
 5. View in the Lake District, pencil and water color, 1806
Girtin: View of Hills and River, water color, c. 1800
View in Barrowdale, pencil and water color, V&A, oct 4, 1806
J. R. Cozens: View of Island of Elba
 6. Dedham Vale, 1811, oil on canvas, collection of Major Proby
Reubens: Sunset Landscape
 7. Barges on the Stour, with Dedham Church in the distance, c. 1811, oil on paper laid on canvas, V&A.
 8. Study of a cart and horses, with a carter and dog, Oct 1814, Oil on paper with a brown ground, V&A
Stour Valley and Dedham Village, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
 9. Boat Building near Flatford Mill, oil on canvas, V&A, 1815
 10. Weymouth Bay, oil on millboard, 1816, V&A
 11. A scene on the River Stour (The White Horse), Frick Collection, 1819.
 12. Fir Trees at Hampstead, pencil, Oct 2, 1820, V&A
 13. Watermeadows near Salisbury, oil on canvas, V&A
 14. Wivenhoe Park, National Gallery, Washington, 1816
 15. Study of sky and trees at Hampstead, 1821, oct 2, oil on paper, V&A
Study of sky and trees. Oil on paper, c. 1821, V&A
Study of Clouds, Sept 5, 1822, oil on paper, V&A

Study of Cirrus Clouds, c. 1822, oil on paper, V&A

16. First sketch of the Hay Wain, Mellon Coll, Wash.

Full-scale study of the Hay Wain, oil on canvas, c. 1821, V&A

The Hay Wain, oil on canvas, National Gallery, London.

17. Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's grounds, oil on canvas, 1823, V&A

18. A study for "A boat passing a lock" (The Lock) Detail: Man at lock. oil, Phila. Museum of Art, 1822.

A Boat Passing a Lock, Royal Academy, London

19. Brighton Beach with colliers, oil on paper, July 19, 1824

20. Full-scale study for "The Leaping Horse". oil on canvas, c. 1825, Victoria and Albert Museum.

The Leaping Horse, London, Royal Academy, 1825

21. Hadleigh Castle, 1829, oil on canvas, Tate Gallery, London.

22. Stonehenge, water color, V&A, 1836

Reubens: Landscape with a rainbow, oil on wood, Munich, mid 1630's.

Eugène Delacroix: Le Massacre de Scio

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VILLIERS ■ L'ISLE ADAM AND THE REJECTION OF EMPIRICAL REALITY

The short story as a genre in France in the nineteenth century has not been clearly defined. This is due, in part, to the fact that the study of the conte has been eclipsed by that of the novel, the preferred genre of the greatest prose writers of the century. The short story, however, was a popular genre throughout the nineteenth century, particularly after 1830. Consider, for example, the following partial list of nineteenth-century contes: Balzac, Episode sous la Terreur; Merimée, Tamango; Flaubert, ^{autres nouvelles romanesques} Trois Contes; Daudet, Lettres de mon moulin; Zola, Contes à Ninon; Villiers de l'Isle Adam, Contes Cruels; Bourget, ^{non manuscrit, mais écrit} Eau profonde; Loti, Mme Chrysanthème; France, Etui de Nacre; and Maupassant, author of over three hundred short stories. Notwithstanding the popular success of the conte in the nineteenth century and the fact that many of the great novelists also wrote short stories, many literary historians have denounced the short story as a bastardized genre, calling it episodic, one-dimensional, static, fragmentary and superficial. Above all, the short story is dismissed as an amateurish and frivolous genre. These condemnations result from the fact that the short story is usually judged according to the structural and stylistic principles of the realistic novel or, as is more often the case, according to the somewhat imprecise definitions of the conte offered by Edgar Allen Poe and Guy de Maupassant.

In 1842 Poe made the following remarks about the short

story in his discussion of Hawthorne's Twice Told Tales:

A skillful literary artist has constructed a story. If wise he has not fashioned his thoughts to accommodate his incidents, but having conceived with deliberate care a certain unique or single effect to be wrought out, he then invents such incidents--he then combines such events as may best aid him in establishing the preconceived effect. If his very initial sentence tend not to the out-bringing of this effect, then he has failed in his first step. In the whole composition there should be no word written of which the tendency, direct or indirect, is not to the one pre-established design.¹

Maupassant discusses his art in the preface to Pierre et Jean:
NB - Maupassant is talking at least as much about words as story.

La vie laisse tout au même plan, précipite les faits ou les traîne indéfiniment. L'Art, au contraire, consiste à user des précautions et des préparations, à ménager des transitions savantes et dissimulées, à mettre en pleine lumière, par la seule adresse de la composition, les événements essentiels et à donner à tous les autres le degré de relief qui leur convient, suivant leur importance, pour produire la sensation profonde de la vérité spéciale qu'on veut montrer. Faire vrai consiste donc à donner l'illusion complète du vrai, suivant la logique ordinaire des faits, et non à les transcrire servilement dans le pêle-mêle de leur succession.²

Neither of these descriptions of the short story elucidates in any significant manner the essential characteristics of the short story, particularly the structural and temporal perspective of the conte and the world view expressed by it. They deny, in short, the essence of the short story as a genre. The short story, however, is a genre unto itself and is constructed on the basis of structural and stylistic principles unlike those of any other form of prose, particularly the realistic novel. This can best be demonstrated by an examination of the Contes Cruels of Villiers de l'Isle Adam.

The most remarkable characteristic of the Contes Cruels of Villiers de l'Isle Adam is the juxtaposition therein of definite statements of lyricism and satire. Christiaan van der Meulen and A. W. Raitt have examined in detail these two seemingly contradictory tendencies in the short stories of Villiers and have determined that they both have a common origin in his idealism. Van der Meulen states:

L'oeuvre de Villiers se laisse nettement diviser en deux parties: l'une satirique et l'autre lyrique. Il semble bien que cette double orientation de Villiers vers le satire et le lyrisme doive être attribué à son idéalisme. Le matérialiste sait se contenter de ce qui lui offre la terre. Il ne cherche rien au delà. Il ne connaît pas les ardents élans du rêve, et ne connaît pas non plus les révoltes. L'idéaliste au contraire se complique fatalement d'un pessimiste. Il souffre d'abord de l'infini de ses désirs à jamais inassouvis, mais il souffre surtout de la vie elle-même avec ses exaspérantes laideurs, ses oriantes injustices, ses cruelles inimitiés, et il s'appartient au "genus irritabile vatum", il est presque inévitable que le rêveur se double d'un satirique. L'idéalisme déçu, voilà donc l'unique explication des alternances de rêve et d'ironie dans l'oeuvre de Villiers.

For Villiers, né Jean Marie Mathias Philippe Auguste Villiers de l'Isle Adam, this confrontation of materialism and idealism meant a confrontation of aristocratic and bourgeois values and the ultimate triumph of the latter. It is that triumph which Villiers acknowledges with contempt throughout the Contes Cruels:

Villiers de l'Isle Adam, le dernier rejeton d'une race seculaire dont les actions d'éclat figurent au nombre des joyaux de l'histoire, lui qui se sentait de si profondes racines dans le temps héroïques de la chevalerie et des affinités avec ses plus illustres représentants, il fut condamné à vivre dans cette époque de matérialisme et de pannuflisme, dans la grande barbarie éclairée au gaz. Son âme aristocratique et méditative fut blessé au vif. Il se révolta et, au lieu d'histoires moroses et mystérieuses, il se mit à écrire des contes cruels, ripostant ainsi par des satires au défi que lui jetait la vie.

is really
taken v.s. materialism
mythology & idealism
values I don't
you don't

It follows, then, that the satire of Villiers is directed primarily at the bourgeoisie in that it is they who most blatantly uphold the doctrine of materialism and thereby deny the possibility of idealism. It is the bourgeoisie, as Raitt has stated, who make it impossible for the aristocrat to actively participate in life in France under the Third Republic:

L'oeuvre de Villiers consiste donc en une campagne féroce menée contre les idées de son temps, et le représentant principal de ces idées, c'est le bourgeois. C'est lui que Villiers rend responsable de tous les méfaits contemporains et qu'il dissectionne avec une impitoyable ironie. 5

Villiers thus derides and vilifies every belief and doctrine of the bourgeoisie, beginning with the doctrine of common sense. Villiers begins by attacking this doctrine in that the bourgeoisie rejects or denies everything which common sense refuses to accept. It is a faculty which the bourgeoisie utilizes to protect itself against everything which might prove the existence of a non-sensual world. In Le Traitement du docteur Tristan, the physician, whose motto is: "Tout pour le Bon-Sens et par le Bon-Sens," reduces his clients to a state of bourgeois euphoria by brain-washing and thereby destroys the meaning of the words foi, générosité, and âme immortelle. At the conclusion of the treatments of Doctor Tristan: "Vous sentez le Bon-Sens couler comme un baume, dans tout votre être. Votre indifférence ne connaît plus de frontières. Vous êtes devenu un homme de l'Humanité." 6

Villiers then attacks the aggressive materialism of the bourgeoisie which measures all things, spiritual or otherwise, according to their material value. In L'Affichage Céleste a plan is presented whereby the sky would be utilized for commercial

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These works are hardly "contes" in a
structural sense and you speak not only of
them themselves

purposes. The conte concludes with the following statement:

"Grâce au projet de M. Grave le ciel finira par être bon à quelque chose et par acquérir, enfin, une valeur intrinsèque."⁷

A similar emphasis on the material value of all things is seen in Les Fleurs de Ténèbres wherein the undertakers of Paris, indignant over the waste of flowers at funerals, gather up the flowers from the graves after the families have departed and re-sell them to florists.

The bourgeois habit of thinking of everything in terms of money is the subject of a bitter satire in Le plus beau dîner du monde. Two provincial notary^s each want to serve "le plus beau dîner du monde" to their friends. Each serves the same meal, yet it is the second who wins since he concealed a twenty franc piece in the napkin of each guest. Even love is subject to financial calculations as in Virginie et Paul where each reply in an apparently idyllic dialogue between two lovers is a play on words on argent. The conte begins in the following manner: "C'est la grille des vieux jardins du pensionnat. Dix heures sonnent dans le lointain. Il fait une nuit d'avril, claire, bleue et profonde. Les étoiles semblent d'argent."⁸ When speaking of the song of the nightingale the lovers remark: "Quelle voix pure et argentine, mais ça empêche de dormir. Il fait très doux ce soir, la lune argentine, c'est beau."⁹ The narrator of the short story makes the following remarks at the conclusion: "Pendant que j'écoutais, ravi, le bruit céleste d'un baiser, les deux anges se sont enfuis; l'écho attardé des ruines vaguement répétait: "De l'argent! Un peu d'argent."¹⁰

Similarly Les Demoiselles de Bienfilatre and Maryelle are variations on the idea that, in certain sectors of society, infidelity is perfectly admissible provided that it is motivated by money and not by love. Olympe, a prostitute in Les Demoiselles de Bienfilatre, falls in love and is ostracized for having done so. Her sister, also a prostitute, reacts to her falling in love in the following manner: "Ma soeur, votre conduite est inqualifiable! Respectez, au moins, les apparences!" ¹¹

The materialistic world view of the bourgeoisie also permeates the creative arts. In Les Filles de Milton, for example, the poet is presented as a blind old man who is dying from hunger in the presence of his daughters who, not esteeming very highly the profession of their father, think only of their own health and well being. They, like most bourgeois, are not capable of expressing personal sentiment and are immediately suspicious of those who do, particularly those who appear to have talent. In Les deux augures an editor summarily rejects the manuscript of a young writer who has shown himself to be very talented: "Mon jeune ami, c'est triste à dire, mais vous êtes atteint de beaucoup de talent. Pardonnez-moi ma rude franchise. Mon intention n'est pas de vous blesser." ¹² The editor then suggests that the talented young writer try and be more mediocre, perhaps even plagiarize. In so doing his manuscript would appeal to vast audiences:

La seule devise qu'un homme de lettres sérieux doive adopter de nos jours est celle-ci: SOIS MEDIOCRE. C'est

celle que j'ai choisie. De là, ma notoriété... Toutefois, si vous n'êtes pas un homme de génie, votre cas n'est pas désespéré. En ne travaillant pas, vous arriverez peut-être. Par exemple, si vous voulez vous constituer, sciemment, plagiare, cela ferait polémique, on vendrait, et vous pourriez alors revenir me voir: sans cela, rien à faire ensemble. 13

In order to protect himself against personal sentiment, the bourgeoisie has established an elaborate system of defense mechanisms. For example, the machine in L'Appareil pour l'analyse chimique du dernier soupir which teaches children that sorrow on the death of their parents is a useless gesture:

Grace à cet appareil les enfants pourront, dorénavant, regretter leurs parents sans douleur. Ah! le bien-être physique avant tout. . . C'est à se demander, en un mot, si l'Age d'Or ne revient pas. . . Heureux siècle! Au lit de mort, maintenant, quelle consolation pour les parents de songer que ces doux êtres--trop aimés--ne perdront plus de temps--le temps, qui est de l'argent!--en flux inutiles des glandes lacrymales et en ces gestes saugrenus qu'entraînent, presque toujours, les décès inopinés! . . . Grace à cet appareil les enfants, enfin, seront vaccinés contre ce désespoir. 14

Even the creative arts of past generations will be affected:

Les arts vont s'en ressentir. Grace à l'appareil, dans quelque dix ans, le tableau de la Fille du Tintoret ne sera plus remarquable que comme coloration, et les marches funèbres de Beethoven et de Chopin ne se comprendront plus que comme musique de danse. 15

The end result, according to Villiers, of this bourgeois tendency toward the repression of sentiment is presented in Sentimentalisme ^{cent} wherein the characters are unable to spontaneously react to any situation whatsoever on an emotional level:

Bref, lorsqu'un grand bonheur ou un grand malheur vous arrivent, ce qui s'éveille en vous, tout d'abord, avant même que votre esprit s'en soit bien rendu compte, c'est l'obscur désir d'aller trouver quelque comédien hors

ligne pour lui demander quels sont les gestes convenable où vous devez vous laisser emporter par la circonstance. 16

They finally express the hope that some day there be theaters where one can pay a fee and watch his life lived by someone else:

Tout le monde, d'ailleurs, me paraît, aujourd'hui, plus ou moins revenu d'éprouver quoi que ce soit. J'espère qu'il y aura bientôt quatre ou cinq théâtres par capitale, où les événements usuels de la vie étant joués sensiblement mieux que dans la réalité, personne ne se donnera plus beaucoup la peine de vivre soi-même. Lorsqu'on voudra se passionner ou s'émouvoir, on prendra une stalle, ce sera plus simple. Ce biais ne sera-t-il pas mille fois préférable au point de vue du bon sens? Pourquoi s'épuiser en passions destinées à l'oubli.? 17

This desire to have someone else live your life for you is indicative of the anguish of a whole generation which was forced to acknowledge the existence of a non-material world. Raitt explains this anguish in the following manner:

this "world" is visible "could" at least be defined (the unconscious?)
Villiers a constaté que le bourgeois perd son calme dès qu'il se voit obligé de prendre connaissance de l'une ou l'autre des manifestations de l'existence d'un monde invisible et il prend un plaisir extrême à noter les réactions de panique folle et irrésistible qui ne manquent pas de s'ensuivre. Car le bourgeois, d'après Villiers, s'inquiète, bien contre son gré, de la possibilité qu'il y ait au monde autre chose que ce qui tombe sous ses sens et il cherche tous les moyens à réprimer cette inquiétude indéracinable. 18

It is this anguish which causes the bourgeois to massacre each other in Les Brigands and explains, in part, the mania of the baron in Le Convive des dernières fêtes. Villiers thus anticipates, as Raitt has determined, the disillusion of the generation of 1885, a generation which could no longer enthusiastically uphold the bourgeois conceptions of science and progress and therefore sought refuge from those beliefs and from the anguish which is concomitant

by him, you turn to it referring to his various phenomena
 to a belief in them, in the ^{of "decadentism" but not in the "intellect"} non-material world of the intellect. ^{limited} ^{universal}

This rejection of materialism and its concomitant values by Villiers de l'Isle Adam and by the generation of 1885 has im- ^{universal by} ^{attributing them} ^{to a} ^{generation} portant consequences in the prose produced during that historical period, the most important being the complete rejection by Villiers and others of the bourgeois prose genre par excellence, the realistic novel. For the bourgeoisie and the fiction produced under its aegis, the temporal perspective is always chronological in that it is founded on a theory of progress. It is ^{it isn't the subject of fiction} this perspective which, in fact, is the subject of all realistic fiction. All is subordinated to or affected by chronological time. In this respect realistic novels have what can be called ^{with the same thing} an allegorical structure. ^{why use this term which has other connotations?} This is true in that they are directly related to a concept of chronological time in a one-to-one way. No attempt is made in realistic fiction to represent a totality, ^{to which mean my impression} ^{to which} as in Greek drama. Realistic fiction attempts to represent a ^{then - a different} ^{kind of fiction} relationship to life. That is to say, realistic novels are based on a concept of similitude and cannot be separated from the temporal structure of empirical reality without destroying their essential form. This notion is substantiated by Georg Luckács in his theory of the novel. Paul de Man explains that theory in the following manner:

^{the more it} ^{demanded some} ^{clarification} ^{has} For Luckács, the drama is the medium in which, as in Greek tragedy, the most universal predicament of man is represented. At a moment in history in which such universality is absent from all actual experience, the drama has to separate itself from life entirely, to become ideal and otherworldly. The novel, on the contrary, wishing to avoid the most destructive type of

fragmentation remains rooted in the particularity of experience; as an epical genre it can never give up its contact with empirical reality, which is an inherent part of its own form. 19

Given the fact that realistic fiction is structured on the basis of empirical reality, it is capable of producing two ^{this should be explained further} essential temporal environments, either a liberating and productive environment or a stifling and corrosive one. In Balzac, for example, the temporal structure is liberating and productive. One need only think of Rastignac and Lucien Rubempré to realize that the Balzacian hero exists within a temporal structure that provides freedom for movement. Without that freedom (espace libre) the Balzacian hero would be incapable of attaining a praxis. In the works of Zola, on the other hand, the temporal environment is stifling and corrosive. In Thérèse Raquin, for example, there is no freedom for movement within the temporal structure. Thérèse and Laurent are incapable of killing Camille--whether alive or dead he continues to fulfill the same function in the novel. It is for this reason that Zola represents, it can be argued, the failure of the realistic novel. This is true in that the temporal structure of Zola's novels is ^{I realize I used this term but it has its faults - perhaps} dramatic and not novelistic. ^{"revolving," "closed," etc. with its better} The temporal structure of a realistic novel necessarily provides espaces libres. A dramatic temporal structure, on the other hand, precludes freedom for action. In such a structure the characters become the helpless victims of a corrosive temporal structure which ultimately destroys them.

It is these two essential temporal environments structured on the basis of empirical reality that Villiers and the generation

of 1885 rejected as the basis for fiction. In so doing they rejected the realistic novel and developed a genre which clearly expressed their disgust for all temporality, the conte aristocratique. This disgust is clearly represented in the Contes Cruels, published in 1883. In this collection of short stories, unlike realistic novels, the temporal structure is not based on that of empirical reality. Rather, it is founded in the non-material reality of the intellect. In this respect the short story of Villiers is more closely related to ^{lyric} poetry than to the novel. That is to say, the conte of Villiers and poetry are both essentially atemporal. ^{isn't a dramatic structure a temporal in this sense? can't the conte be a dramatic structure?} The realistic novel, it will be recalled, is primarily a statement of a process, a sequence of events presented within a temporal structure. ^{disparate pieces? like the next novel?} The conte, on the other hand, is not representative of a process, instead, it is the statement of a conclusion. In other words, the realistic novel is relative, the conte is absolute. ^{you would have to deal with the concept of Raymond, 20th of all before you} As such, the conte is an essentially aristocratic genre. ^{ask which this is not clear a priori} One need only examine a small number of the short stories of Villiers to realize this point. In each of his short stories Villiers has arbitrarily incarnated values, that is to say, the characters in the Contes Cruels, like all aristocrats, possess a praxis a priori. For this reason they need not be presented within a temporal structure. This is directly related to the satiric intent of the Contes Cruels which are, in effect, statements, not of the evolution and development of bourgeois attitudes and beliefs, but of the ultimate ^{inherent} manifestations of the bourgeois world view.

As such Villiers has presented both the crisis of bourgeois mentality and the crisis of realistic fiction. For the bourgeoisie this crisis is a feeling of anguish caused by the realization that there exists a non-empirical world in which science has no dominion. With reference to fiction, it means that the essentially allegorical structure of realistic fiction is supplanted by a symbolic structure. This can be demonstrated by an examination of Véra and Le Désir d'être un homme from the Contes Cruels.

Véra, like all of the contes of Villiers de l'Isle Adam, begins with an event which is situated within a temporal structure ^{that is} structured on that of empirical reality, the return of the Comte d'Athol from the burial of his wife Véra. The Count, however, upon his return, refuses to acknowledge that structure and established instead a temporal structure which is in no way related to that of empirical reality. His rejection is clearly evidenced by the fact that he broke the spring in the clock at the moment when Véra died: "Il revoyait la chambre veuve. . . Et là, là, dans l'ombre, la pendule, dont il avait brisé le ressort pour qu'elle ne sonnât plus d'autres heures." ²⁰ That evening he established a completely artificial temporal structure for himself, a structure in which chronological time has no significance. He refused to acknowledge the death of his wife and then said to his servant:

Raymond, dit tranquillement le comte, ce soir, nous sommes accablés de fatigue, la comtesse et moi; tu

serviras le souper vers dix heures. A propos, nous avons résolu de nous isoler davantage, ici, dès demain. Aucun de mes serviteurs, hors toi, ne doit passer la nuit dans l'hôtel. Tu leur remettras les gages de trois années, et qu'ils se retirent. Puis, tu fermeras la barre du portail; tu allumeras les flambeaux en bas, dans la salle à manger; tu nous serviras. Nous ne recevrons personne à l'avenir. 21

This new artificial temporal structure is so convincing that Raymond and the count find it almost impossible to distinguish the temporal structure of empirical reality from the artificial creation of the Comte d'Athol:

Les jours, les nuits, les semaines s'envolèrent. Ni l'un ni l'autre ne savait ce qu'ils accomplissaient. Et des phénomènes singuliers se passaient maintenant, où il devenait difficile de distinguer le point où l'imaginaire et le réel étaient identiques. Une présence flottait dans l'air; une forme s'efforçait de disparaître, de se tramer sur l'espace devenu indéfinissable. 22

The artificial creation of the Comte d'Athol, however, ultimately disintegrates when the count remarks one night while sleepwalking: "Ah! maintenant, je me rappelle! Qu'ai-je donc? Mais tu es morte!" 23 The subsequent destruction of his entire world of artificiality is described by Villiers in the following manner:

A l'instant même, à cette parole, la mystique veilleuse de l'iconostase s'éteignit. Le pâle petit jour du matin, d'un matin banal, grisâtre et pluvieux, filtra dans la chambre par les interstices des rideaux. Les bougies blémirent et s'éteignirent, laissant fumer âcrement leurs mèches rouges; le feu disparut sous une couche de cendres tièdes; les fleurs se fanèrent et se desséchèrent en quelques moments; le balancier de la pendule reprit graduellement son immobilité. La certitude de tous les objets s'envola subitement. L'opale, morte, ne brillait plus; les taches de sang s'étaient fanées aussi, sur la batiste, auprès d'elle; et s'effaçant entre les bras désespérés qui voulaient en vain l'étreindre encore, l'ardent et blanche vision rentra dans l'air et

s'y perdit. Un faible soupir d'adieu, distinct, lointain, parvint jusqu'à l'âme de Roger. Le comte se dressa; il venait de s'apercevoir qu'il était seul. Son rêve venait de se dissoudre d'un seul coup; il avait brisé le magnétique fil de sa trame radieuse avec une seule parole. L'atmosphère était, maintenant, celle des défunts. ²⁴

Véra, then, both begins and ends with the same event, the death of Véra. In the period between her death and the acknowledgment of her death by her husband she belongs wholly to an artificial temporal structure. It is a structure which can in no way be related to a concept of time similar to that of empirical reality. In that structure she is eternal. As soon as she is related to a time point in empirical reality, however, she dies. It is for this reason that the structure of the conte is, for the most part, symbolic. It is symbolic in that Véra, in the interim between her actual death and her husband's recognition of her death, functions as a sustained metaphor. That is to say, the reconstructed Véra in the mind of the Comte d'Athol is an image of experience which recreates experience and becomes more real than the actual living woman. Hauser's remarks on this point are significant: "Vera is so completely present spiritually and the radiation of her personality so immediate, so overwhelming, that her fictitious life has a much deeper, truer and more genuine reality than her actual death." ²⁵

A similar metaphoric structure is presented in one of the most remarkable contes of Villiers de l'Isle Adam, Le Désir d'être un homme. In this conte an actor, Esprit Chaudval, comes to the

realization that he is getting old and has never experienced a real human emotion:

Voici près d'un demi-siècle que je représente, que je joue les passions des autres sans jamais les éprouver, car, au fond, je n'ai jamais rien éprouvé, moi. Je ne suis donc le semblable de ces "autres" que pour rire! Je ne suis donc qu'une ombre? Les passions! les sentiments! les actes réels! REELS! voilà, voilà ce qui constitue l'HOMME proprement dit! Donc, puisque l'âge me force de rentrer dans l'Humanité, je dois me procurer des passions, ou quelque sentiment réel, puisque c'est la condition sine qua non sans laquelle on ne saurait prétendre au titre d'Homme. 26

He then decides that he would like to experience guilt feelings and therefore burns the Faubourg du Temple, killing hundreds of people. He justifies his action in the following manner:

Moi, je brûle par DEVOIR, n'ayant pas d'autre moyen d'existence! J'incendie parce que je me dois à moi-même! Je m'acquitte! Quel homme je vais être! Comme je vais vivre! Oui, je vais savoir, enfin, ce qu'on éprouve quand on est bourrelé. Quelles nuits, magnifiques d'horreur, je vais délicieusement passer! Ah! je respire! je renaiss! j'existe! Quand je pense que j'ai été comédien! Maintenant, comme je ne suis, aux yeux grossiers des humains, qu'un gibier d'échaufaud, fuyons avec la rapidité de l'éclair. 27

Chaudval then locks himself in a lighthouse where he can "jouer en paix de ses remords." 28 Unfortunately, he is unable to experience guilt feelings:

Contrairement à ses espoirs et prévisions, sa conscience ne lui criait aucun remords. Nul spectre ne se montrait! Il n'éprouvait rien, mais absolument rien! Parfois en se regardant au miroir, il s'apercevait que sa tête débonnaire n'avait point changé! Furieux, alors, il sautait sur les signaux, qu'il faussait, dans la radieuse espérance de faire sombrer au loin quelque bâtiment, afin d'aider, d'activer, de stimuler le remords rebelle! d'exciter les spectres! Peines perdues! Attentats stériles! Vains efforts! Il n'éprouvait rien. Il ne voyait aucun menaçant fantôme. 29

-16-

*You might have said a few words about the end of the story
 & Ch's relation to Death*

The crisis of Esprit Chaudval is the crisis of a whole generation of neo-romantics under the Third Republic. Chaudval, through his crimes, was desperately attempting to establish for himself an authentic praxis and thereby become an integral part of a temporal structure founded in empirical reality. Yet he was unable to do so and continued to exist in a symbolic and aristocratic world of atemporality, a world wherein no feelings of guilt could be experienced. In attempting to insert himself into temporality Chaudval was attempting to relate himself to a temporal structure, that is to say, an allegorical structure. He was, however, condemned to remain in a metaphoric or symbolic structure wherein, by definition, time and space are meaningless concepts. In this respect, he is a pure metaphor, unlike Véra. The metaphoric reality of Véra was destroyed when the Comte D'Athol acknowledged temporality by recognizing the fact that his wife had died. In so doing Véra descended from the poetic realm of metaphor into the prosaic world of empirical reality and similitude.

These two metaphoric incarnations, Véra and Esprit Chaudval, are illustrative of the duality of expression which permeates Villiers' thought, which, it will be recalled from an earlier section of this essay, is both lyric and satirical. Esprit Chaudval and his inability to relate to a temporal structure based in empirical reality represents the latter; Véra, in the period between her death and the time when her husband acknowl-

edges her death, represents the former. In this respect, the Contes Cruels represent not only Villiers' scorn for the bourgeois world of the Third Republic and for temporality, but also his enthusiasm for artificiality and atemporality. Hauser explains this enthusiasm for atemporality in the following manner:

The enthusiasm for the artificiality of culture is in some respects again only a new form of romantic escapism. Artificial, fictitious life is chosen, because reality can never be so beautiful as illusion and because all contact with reality, all attempts to realize dreams and wishes must lead to their corruption. But people now take refuge from social reality not in nature, as the romantics had done, but in a higher, more sublimated and more artificial world. 30

This anti-natural aestheticism is similarly, as Hauser has determined, the principal issue in Axel, the posthumous poetic drama of Villiers de l'Isle Adam:

In Villiers de l'Isle Adam's Axel, one of the classical portrayals of the new attitude to life, the intellectual and imaginary forms of being always stand above the natural and practical, and unrealized desires always seem more perfect and more satisfying than their translation into ordinary trivial reality. Axel wants to commit suicide with Sara whom he loves. She is quite willing to die with him, but she would like, before they die, to know the happiness of one night of love. Axel fears, however, that, afterwards, he would no longer have the courage to commit suicide with Sara and that their love, like all realized dreams, would not stand the test of time. He prefers the perfect illusion to the imperfect reality. 31

It is this same desire for artificiality that is expressed in Sentimentalisme:

Tout le monde, d'ailleurs, me paraît, aujourd'hui, plus ou moins revenu d'éprouver quoi que ce soit. J'espère qu'il y aura bientôt quatre ou cinq théâtres par capitale, où les événements usuels de la vie étant joués sensiblement mieux que dans la réalité, personne ne se donnera plus beaucoup la peine de vivre soi-même. Lorsqu'on

NB that this is the inverse of what developments in the theatre (writing the etc)

voudra se passionner ou s'émouvoir, on prendra une stalle, ce sera plus simple. Ce biais ne sera-t-il pas mille fois préférable, au point de vue du bon-sens? 32

This kind of escape from empirical reality is undertaken, not because one is enticed, as were the romantics, rather, because one is disgusted. In this respect the metaphoric structures of Véra, Le Désir d'être un homme, and Axel are indicative of a new and wholly un-realistic tendency in prose. This is directly related to the use of figurative language in fiction. In the realistic novel figurative language was utilized primarily for enrichment and the achievement of a realistic effect. In the short stories of Villiers de l'Isle Adam ^{you might have illustrated this more fully} metaphors provide the essential structural element of fiction and become, in fact, the real subject of fiction. In this respect they become symbols since they are, by definition, atemporal. Hauser's remarks on this point are significant:

Mallarmé's generation by no means invented the symbol as a means of expression; symbolic art had also existed in previous ages. It merely discovered the difference between symbol and allegory, and made symbolism as a poetic style the conscious aim of its endeavors. It recognized, even though it was not always able to give expression to that insight, that allegory is nothing but the translation of an abstract idea into the form of a concrete image, whereby the idea continues to a certain extent to be independent of its metaphorical expression and could also be expressed in another form, whereas the symbol brings the idea and the image into an indivisible unity, so that the transformation of the image also implies the metamorphosis of the idea. 33

As such, the conte was an appropriate genre in which Villiers could express the essential duality of his thought. He could give literary form to his disgust for bourgeois temporality without

acknowledging the temporal structure of empirical reality. At the same time, he gave literary form to his idealism, which, by definition, is atemporal.

The Contes Cruels of Villiers de l'Isle Adam are, then, significant in the history of French prose of the nineteenth century. They embody, as has been demonstrated, the ultimate and complete rejection of the bourgeois world-view as the basis of fiction. At the same time they represent the new artistic ideal of artificiality, an artificiality founded on the complete separation of the structure of fiction from that of empirical reality. In this respect, the short story of Villiers represents, it can be argued, the beginning of a process of complete in-breeding in art, since art is no longer structured on the basis of empirical reality and intended for the general public; rather it is structured on the basis of the ^{it would be nice if this work he made more} non-material realm of the ^{more} intellect and intended for other artists. An examination of the ^{more} prose productions of other writers of contes in the nineteenth century, most notably Guy de Maupassant, may show that the conte, throughout the nineteenth century, was structured on the basis of the non-material realm of the intellect and, as such, is atemporal and anti-realistic. Such an examination, however, is beyond the scope of this essay.

do you really think this is true? Villiers seems unique in this respect. Even Barbey's Diaboliques are based on non-symbolic narrative principles, in which "aristocracy" appears simply as a "closure" assertion of the integrity of the form.

The contes of Maup. et al. would seem to fall generally within the naturalist tradition but replace the process-narrative by that of a moment - they are "atemporal" but only because present has been reduced to an instantaneous passage from potential to real.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Thomas Gullason. "The Short Story: an underrated art," Studies in Short Fiction Vol II, Fall 1964, p. 20.
- 2 Guy de Maupassant. Pierre et Jean. Paris, 1966, pp. 40-41.
- 3 Christiaan J. C. Van der Meulen. L'Idéalisme de Villiers de l'Isle Adam. Paris, 1925, p. 47.
- 4 Van der Meulen, p. 49.
- 5 A. W. Raitt. Villiers de l'Isle Adam et le mouvement symboliste. Paris, 1965, p. 165.
- 6 Villiers de l'Isle Adam. Contes Cruels: Le Traitement du Docteur Tristan. Paris, 1952, p. 249.
- 7 Villiers de l'Isle Adam. Contes Cruels: L'Affichage Céleste, p. 55.
8. Villiers de l'Isle Adam. Contes Cruels: Virginie et Paul, p. 83.
- 9 Virginie et Paul, p. 86.
- 10 Virginie et Paul, p. 87.
- 11 Les Demoiselles de Bienfilatre, p. 13.
- 12 Les Deux Augures, p. 46.
- 13 Les Deux Augures, p. 45.
- 14 L'Appareil pour l'analyse chimique du dernier soupir, p. 164.
- 15 L'Appareil pour l'analyse chimique du dernier soupir, pp. 168-69.
- 16 Sentimentalisme, p. 133.
- 17 Sentimentalisme, p. 139.
- 18 Raitt, p. 171.
- 19 Paul de Mann. "Georg Luckács: Theory of the Novel," Modern Language Notes. 1966, p. 531.
- 20 Véra, p. 21.

- 21 Véra, p. 24.
- 22 Véra, p. 25.
- 23 Véra, p. 29.
- 24 Véra, p. 29.
- 25 Arnold Hauser. The Social History of Art Vol. 4, New York ,
1962, p.184.
- 26 Le Désir d'être un homme, p. 156.
- 27 Le Désir d'être un homme, p. 159.
- 28 Le Désir d'être un homme, p. 159.
- 29 Le Désir d'être un homme, p. 161.
- 30 Hauser, p. 183.
- 31 Hauser, p. 183.
- 32 Sentimentalisme, p. 139.
- 33 Hauser, p. 195.
- 34 Hauser, p. 182.

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iste. Paris, 1965.
- Villiers de l'Isle Adam. Contes Cruels. Paris, 1952.

The most important part of this study comes near the end when you actually tackle the structure of Le roman. This should have been given more prominence, at least a couple of other stories should have been added, the distinction between romanesque & satire made clear (are the two you satirized for their artificial inability to live in the real world?) I think some separation of romanesque from satire per se might be in order - rom. materialism destroys genuine interpersonal relations (satire) but certain characters seek to overcome this in an "artificial" world - and fail (rom.) Indeed you don't say much about the sense of failure in Vie and the final choice of Death, also made in Le roman.

In contrast you could have reduced the part dealing with V's attacks on the bourgeoisie. Since you don't analyse these stories structurally the essential thing is to deal with the text & to make it the basis for your speculative ideas

A/A²

1214

This Constable work was for
a seminar at Ludiana. Very
enjoyable.

“We don't know one
millionth of one percent
about anything.”

Thomas A. Edison

1215

Bibliography: John Constable (1776-1837)
Compiled by S. Robert Powell, November 1969

1.

MONOGRAPHS

Leslie, C. R. Memoirs of the Life of John Constable. London, 1843. (ND497.C7L6). A biography of Constable published six years after Constable's death by his friend C. R. Leslie. The book is primarily composed of Constable's correspondence from which Leslie has omitted all passages which threaten to throw himself up in too agreeable a light and all passages in which his view failed to do justice to the memory of Constable. Benedict Nicolson in his 1949 edition of Leslie's biography remarks: "Leslie contrives to paint rather too rosy a portrait of Constable. Unconsciously he tends to build up his hero into a god-like version of himself, to make him too much a family man, almost too gentle, almost too respectable, and although every word rings with a clear note of truth, we have to search elsewhere, in other memoirs of the period, if we are to drag Constable down to the earth where he belongs." The 1843 edition was enlarged and re-published in 1845. Subsequent editions appeared in 1896, 1905 (in French), 1912, 1937 (Shirley), 1949 (Nicolson), and 1951 (Mayne).

Holmes, C. J. Constable. London, 1901. (ND497.C7H7)
A short monograph giving the main facts of Constable's life. It supplements Leslie's biography by re-appraising the art of Constable in the light of later artistic developments.

• Constable and his Influence on Landscape Painting. London, 1902. Herein Holmes offers a much fuller discussion of Constable and his art than in his 1901 monograph on Constable. A chronological list of the artist's chief pictures and dated sketches is given. In his review of the Reynolds Catalogue of the Constable Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum in the June 1961 Art Bulletin Louis Hawes remarks: "Until Reynolds (1960) most students of Constable, since 1902, have relied heavily on Holmes in matters of dating. Holmes approached the problem largely from the standpoint of style, seldom attending to other kinds of evidence. Many of his suggestions have stood up remarkably well--even under Reynolds' scrutiny."

Henderson, M. Sturge. Constable. London, 1905. (ND497.C7H4)
A biography of Constable wherein the author "aimed at presenting the actions and interests of the artist as vividly as is compatible with a strictly chronological arrangement." (from the preface). Henderson offers a lengthy discussion of the Lucas mezzotints (pp.114-46), and Constable's lectures on the history of landscape painting (pp. 146-66).

Tompkins, Herbert W. In Constable's Country. London, 1906. (ND497.C7T6). Tompkins expresses his aim in writing this book as follows: "This book is not an essay on Constable and his art. It is a transcript of impressions, perched, in the first instance, by the wayside. It records a ramble in the

2.

valley of the Stour and its immediate neighbourhood, where Constable passed much of his life and where he painted so many of his landscapes. I have talked with men who have passed their lives besides the Stour, and whose grandsires were thereabouts when Constable was living. The Valley of the Stour contains much of interest apart from the story of Constable and his pictures, and I have set down whatever seemed worthy of record, whether of wayside interest or local tradition."

- Lucas, Edward V. John Constable the Painter. London, 1924. (ND497.C7L9) A short monograph dealing with the life and principal works of Constable, published on the centenary of two notable events in art: the foundation of the National Gallery and the exhibition of the Hay Wain in Paris. This study is based primarily on information in Leslie's biography of Constable (1843) and Holmes' study of Constable published in 1902. Lucas also relies to a large extent on the Joseph Farington diary. 14 oil paintings and 2 watercolors by Constable are reproduced in color; 34 oil paintings, 3 water colors, 6 pencil drawings and 8 of the Lucas mezzotints are reproduced in monochrome.
- Clark, Sir Kenneth. The Hay Wain in the National Gallery. London, 1944. (ND1170.G2,no.5) A short essay giving all that is known about the Hay Wain and its relation to early 19th century art and life. There are 17 illustrations (10 details of the Hay Wain), all in monochrome.
- Key, Sydney J. John Constable: His Life and Work. London, 1948. (ND497.C7K4) This account of the life and work of John Constable is based on information taken from the Shirley edition of Leslie's biography, the Farington Diary in the Royal Library at Windsor, and Art in England 1800-1820, 1821-1837 by W. T. Whitley. 51 monochrome illustrations & 4 color plates.
- Badt, Kurt. John Constable's Clouds. London, 1950. (ND497.C7B13) The thesis of Badt's study is that there is a causal relationship between the publication of Luke Howard's cloud classifications which appeared in volume one of his Climate of London (1818), and Constable's period of intense sketching of skies in 1821-1822. Louis Hawes, in his review of the Reynolds Catalogue of the V&A (Art Bulletin, June 1961) remarks: "Badt's book is intensely interesting and rewarding but its conclusions are too often overstated and cry out for qualification." In the same review Hawes qualifies Badt's thesis by considering the background and early experience Constable had in working in his father's mills. Hawes further remarks: "The sky sketches of 1821-22 no doubt represent a radically intensified interest and attentiveness to the problem of painting skies, but this concern was not a new born one suddenly instilled by reading a meteorological text. The latter, at most, may very possibly have been the stimulus for a clearer focusing of an already aroused interest."

Beckett, R. B. John Constable and the Fishers. London, 1952. (ND497.C7B2) This monograph is the record of the friendship of John Constable and John Fisher. It is presented primarily through the letters that they wrote to each other throughout their lives. In his introduction Beckett remarks: "To be introduced to a pair of admirable men, to be enabled to understand them in their friendship through their letters, to have the feeling of their minds and their hearts--this is bound to be an experience exhilarating and uncommon."

Reynolds, Graham. Catalogue of the Constable Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum. London, 1960. (ND497.07V6) This is the masterwork on Constable. There are 310 plates with 596 illustrations, 1 color plate. In his review of this catalogue in the Art Bulletin, June 1961, pp. 160-166 Louis Hawes remarks; "The combined riches of Mr. Reynolds' formidable knowledge of Constable's art and the Victoria and Albert's unrivaled collection of Constable's paintings and drawings give this volume an importance transcending that of the usual museum catalogue. In many ways, this exhaustively annotated and illustrated catalogue is the most significant work on Constable to appear since Sir Charles Holmes' work on Constable of 1902. Reynolds, in fact, makes the first serious attempt since Holmes to establish a chronology for the many undated works in the collection. . . . Most of the watercolors and nearly all of the drawings from the 3 sketchbooks have never been published before. (The Victoria and Albert Museum has about 600 of Constable's works: 103 oil paintings, 309 watercolors and drawings, 3 bound sketchbooks containing pencil drawings on 157 pages. In addition, about 30 works contain paintings or drawings on the verso sides as well)"

. Constable, the Natural Painter. London, 1965. (ND497.C7R4) Together with the 1960 Catalogue of the Constable Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum, this monograph is one of the basic texts on John Constable and his art. In a review of this work (Connoisseur, January 1966) Ralph Edwards stated: "It is truly a perceptive and critical monograph based on years of intensive study and mercifully free of the abominably highly specialized lingo that has lately come to be increasingly associated with criticism of the arts. . . . Reynolds believes that lately the oil sketches and studies have tended to monopolize the attention of Constable admirers, and he seeks to adjust the balance by stressing the importance of what he calls the "canal scenes", the six great paintings of the canalised river Stour on which Constable staked his claim to lasting fame." Edwards remarks that the color plates are "shockingly bad."

Hawes, Louis. Constable's Writings on Art. Thesis, Princeton, 1963. (ND497.C7H38). In the abstract which precedes this thesis, Louis Hawes states his aims in writing this study of Constable as follows: "This study has three major aims: (1) to extract from Constable's voluminous correspondence and notes the most significant passages embodying his art theory (2) to discuss them in the context of antecedent art theory and con-

temporary romantic aesthetic theory, and (3) to relate his theory to his practice." Hawes convincingly demonstrates that Constable's writings contain a definite theory of art. In his conclusion he remarks: "They embody a significant conception of nature, art and the creative process and the respective roles of training, tradition and the observation of nature. In addition, the artist's ambitious lectures on landscape exhibit a subtle and surprisingly comprehensive grasp of the history of landscape painting, definitely in advance of his day. They comprise, in effect, one of the first historical surveys of landscape." Hawes also demonstrates that Constable is a product of the age of romanticism, i. e., the age of Wordsworth and Hazlitt, and that with respect to what Constable referred to as a "natural style" he has more affinities with Hazlitt's theory than Wordsworth's world-view.

Poole, Phoebe. John Constable. New York, 1964. (ND497.C7P8)

A brief but well-written account of the life and major works of Constable. 24 color illustrations and 53 monochrome illustrations.

Baskett, John. Constable Oil Sketches. London, 1966. (ND497.C7B16)

The 6,000 word introduction to this study contains a brief account of Constable's life and an analysis of Constable's use of the oil sketch. The 32 plates, which constitute the main interest in this text, are each accompanied with up to a page of documentation and explanatory notes.

Cummings, Frederick and Allen Staley. Romantic Art in Britain: Paintings and Drawings 1760-1860. Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1968, (Library of Congress card catalog number 68-14543)

This catalogue of an exhibition in Detroit (January 9--February 18, 1968) and in Philadelphia (March 14--April 21, 1968) contains three essays on Romantic art in general: (1) Robert Rosenblum: "British Art and the Continent, 1760-1860; (2) Frederick Cummings: "Romanticism in Britain, 1760-1860; (3) Allen Staley: "British Landscape painting, 1760-1860. These essays provide a good introduction to the entire question of landscape painting in Brit in during the period 1760-1860, particularly that of Allen Staley. The Constables in this exhibition were few in number (8). Nevertheless, they are accompanied by much documentation (provenance, exhibitions, references) and well-written explanatory notes.

PERIODICALS

Bouyer, Raymond. "A propos du centenaire de Constable; Comment définir le paysage romantique?" Gazette des Beaux Arts. December 1937, pp. 312-317.

A discussion of Constable's influence in France in the 1820's. Bouyer's primary concern is defining "le paysage romantique." He concludes: "Le véritable paysage romantique est l'enfant de l'imagination dans ses motifs moins inspirés de la vue de la nature que du rêve de l'artiste." In this respect Bouyer praises the artistic effort of Paul Huet.

- Shirley, Andrew. "Paintings by Constable in Paris 1824-26." Gazette des Beaux Arts, Vol. 23, March 1943, 173-80.
An estimate of Constable's influence in France in the 1820's. Shirley justly emphasizes the role played by the Parisian art dealers Arrowsmith and Shroth, particularly Schroth. It is because of the efforts of these two men that 27 of Constable's works were seen in France in the period 1824-26.
- Steigman, John. "Constable's 'Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's Grounds,'" Art Quarterly 14, no. 3, 1951, 195-205.
This article places the known versions of "Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's Grounds" in a chronological relationship so far as possible and restates the evidence for the order suggested. The excuse for so doing is existence in an English private collection of a version hitherto thought lost.
- Peckham, Morse. "Constable and Wordsworth," College Art Journal 12, 1952-53, 196-209. Peckham's article is built around the question: "Are there any reasons for thinking that Constable consciously applied Wordsworth's ideas about writing poetry to his own creative activity, painting?" On the basis of the available evidence (Constable met Wordsworth in 1806, Sir George Beaumont was the patron of Constable, Coleridge, and Wordsworth, etc) Peckham concludes: "I am convinced that Constable had the opportunity thru Sir George Beaumont to become acquainted with the ideas of Wordsworth as expressed in conversation, in letters, in published prose, and in poetry, published and un-published, and that he did actually become acquainted with them, that he was profoundly affected by them, and that the sudden re-direction of his art worked out in the sketches beginning in 1808 was the result of that impact upon his mind and sensibility." For a more complete discussion of the question of Constable and Wordsworth, see Hawes' 1963 thesis: Constable's Writings on Art, 1963.
- Beckett, R. B. "Constable's Lock," Purlington Magazine 94, August 1952, 252-56. Beckett reviews the available information on the six versions of "A Boat Passing a Lock." He concludes that the upright type precedes the oblong type and that in each sub-grouping Constable made his usual preliminary study of approximately the same size. The subject of the Lock occupied Constable off and on from 1823-1826, and Peckham's article helps clarify Constable's activity during this period.
- D'Otrange-Mastai, M. L. "Constable's Diversity," Apollo 64, August 1956, 37-40. D'Otrange-Mastai compares the differences in mood and style between the sketches and the finished pictures. He concludes that the true Constable is to be found not in the great showpieces but in the oil sketches. This point of view has been refuted, for the most part, by Graham Reynolds in Constable: the Natural Painter (London, 1965)

- Beckett, R. B. "Constable's 'Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's Grounds,'" Art Quarterly 20, Summer 1957, 141-50. Beckett's article is a supplement to the account given by John Steigman of the chronological relationship of the several versions of Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's Grounds (Art Quarterly, Autumn 1951). Beckett corrects Steigman on the basis of letters which were not printed at the time of the Steigman article.
- Kitson, Michael. "John Constable, 1810-1816, A Chronological Study," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute. July 1957, 338-57. Kitson's article is a survey of the last formative period in Constable's life, namely from about 1810-1816. The first part of his essay is a recapitulation of the known facts, designed primarily to provide a starting point for the stylistic analysis which follows in the second part of the essay. The problem is to explain the stylistic basis of the change in Constable's landscapes between 1810-1816, that is, the difference between the Proby Dedham Vale of 1811 and the "Mill Stream" of 1814; between the Ashmolean Dedham Vale from Langham of 1812 and the slightly earlier, but more revolutionary Lock and Cottages on the Stour in the V&A. At the conclusion of his article Kitson gives an account of the innovations in handling and color which occur in the V&A Boat Building and the Leeds Dedham Vale from East Bergholt of 1814.
- Florissonne, Michel. "Constable and the Massacres de Scio by Delacroix," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, January-June 1957, 180-85. Florissonne discounts the story that Delacroix, after having seen the "Hay Wain" in the Salon of 1824, went back to his studio and re-did the painting he was then working on, the Massacres de Scio. He does so on the basis of a comparison of the texture of the two canvases. He states: "One finds that the difference between the thick and lumpy texture of Constable's work at this period, and Delacroix's smooth, brushed surfaces are more obvious than is the technical relationship claimed for them."
- Hawes, Louis. "Review of the Reynolds Catalogue of the Constable Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum," Art Bulletin, June 1961, 160-66. The review of Reynolds' book is given above under Reynolds' Catalogue of the Constable Collection in the V&A. Hawes also discusses Kurt Badt's John Constable's Clouds, see the entry under Badt. A clarification of the question of Constable and the picturesque is also offered by Hawes in this article.
- Beckett, R. B. "Constable's Hadleigh Castle," Art Quarterly 26, no. 4, 1963, 419-28. Beckett reviews the history of this painting which, after being exhibited in 1888, was lost sight of for nearly seventy-five years. It re-emerged in the Paul Mellon Collection in the early 1960's.

- _____ . "Summerland by John Constable," Art Quarterly 27, no. 21, 1964, 176-84. A brief account of the history of the canvas entitled Landscape: Ploughing Scene in Suffolk, from its exhibition at the Academy in the Spring of 1814 to the present day. This was one of Constable's favorite paintings and its sale to a complete stranger when exhibited at the British Institution delighted the artist and renewed his self confidence.
- Reynolds, Graham. "Total immersion in Landscape," Art News 64, October 1965, 42-45. A brief discussion of the exhibition Sketches by Constable which toured the USA in 1965. Reynolds underlines the importance of sketching to Constable and the extensive degree to which he would weave the substances of his visual notations into his more elaborate pictures.
- _____ . "Newly Discovered Drawings by Constable in a Louvre Sketch Book," Burlington Magazine 108, March 1966, 138-39. Reynolds discusses the recent discovery of six or more of Constable's marine sketches and drawings made at Brighton in a small leatherbound sketch book in the Cabinet de Dessins in the Louvre. This same sketch book was utilized by Delacroix at Dieppe. Reynolds gives a short description of the contents of the sketch book as they should now, in his view, be described and suggests that Constable, touched by Delacroix's admiration for his work, gave him an unfinished sketch book as a present.
- Beckett, R. B. "Constable and Hogarth," Art Quarterly 29, 1966, 106-110. Beckett suggests that Hogarth is the basis of Constable's portrait style, that is, the style of Constable's art when he was eking out his small income by painting portraits of his Suffolk friends. Beckett supports his argument by comparing Constable's portrait of Rear-Admiral Thomas Western (1814) with Hogarth's Captain Coram, 1740. Beckett has determined that the Constable portrait of Western is based on a design taken in reverse from the portrait of an earlier seafaring character, Captain Coram, painted by Hogarth for the Foundling Hospital in 1740. The posture of the sitter and the accessories in both paintings is also the same.
- Rhyne, Charles. "Fresh Light on John Constable," Apollo 87, March, 1968, 227-30. Rhyne discusses two new books on Constable: Charles Peacock's John Constable, the Man and his Work (London, 1965) and Graham Reynolds's Constable, the Natural Painter (London, 1965). The latter has been discussed above. In reference to the former Rhyne remarks: "It is so un-scholarly in appearance and contains so many obvious mistakes, omissions and inconsistencies in the list of illustrations and notes on the plates that one is liable to overlook what it has to offer. Peacock gives a special importance to Constable's paintings and thoughts about the sea, which is one of the books strengths. As it is, this section constitutes the longest separate consideration of Constable's relationship to the sea in the literature on the artist. Mr. Peacock is right in calling attention to the neglect which this aspect of Constable's work has received."

Owen, Felicity. "Sir George Beaumont and the Contemporary Artist,"
Apollo 89, February 1969, 106-11. Owen discusses the
career of Sir George Beaumont as a patron of the arts:
his admiration for Reynolds and Wilson, his working in
Italy with J. R. Cozens, his admiration for Girtin,
his friendship with Farington, his recognition of Constable's
artistic talent, his scorn for Turner (Turner, said Beau-
mont, has done more harm in misleading the taste than any
other artist), and his gift to the nation of his personal
collection of paintings in 1823.

This is the text of a 2-hour
seminar report that I
gave on Constable.

L SLIDE: Self-portrait, pencil, 1806

John Constable was born at East Bergholt in Suffolk on June 11, 1776. He was the second son of Golding Constable, the owner of water mills at Flatford and Dedham and of two windmills in the neighborhood of Bergholt. Though very delicate as an infant, John Constable grew into a healthy boy and at the age of seven was sufficiently robust to be sent to a boarding school about fifteen miles from his home. From this school he passed to one at Lavenham and then to the Grammar School at Dedham where he remained until he was seventeen. He was a favorite with the headmaster, Dr. Grimwood, although he does not, as a scholar, appear to have excelled in anything but penmanship. Before he was sixteen years old his fondness for painting had become noticeable and was commented on by his teachers, who appear to have been lenient to his lack of interest in other studies which resulted from it. At East Bergholt all his spare time was spent in the company of John Dunthorne, a plumber and glazier who occupied a small cottage not far from the gates of Golding Constable's house. Dunthorne devoted his leisure time to sketching landscape from nature and in this pursuit John Constable was his constant companion.

Constable's father, a successful businessman, looked disparagingly at his son's interest in art and wished him to prepare for the Church. The thought of taking Orders, however, was so distasteful to Constable that it was agreed he should enter the milling business. For about a year he was at work in his father's mills. He worked conscientiously at the business, but his desires were unchanged, and during this period his mother's insight and sympathy led her to procure for him an introduction to Sir George Beaumont, who was in the habit of coming to Dedham to visit his mother, the Dowager Countess of Beaumont. Sir George was an important person for Constable to meet for he was well known among the artists and collectors of London, where his wealth,

social position, and education all combined to make him a leading patron and dictator of taste throughout most of Constable's life. In addition he was a landscape painter of some talent in the strict classical tradition whose admiration for Claude was unlimited. Sir George indulged by often carrying about in his luggage when he traveled, the small Hagar and the Angel. He showed Constable this picture together with water colors of Girtin and advised him to study them carefully. This advice was by no means wasted for Constable immediately shared Beaumont's enthusiasm for Claude, never to lose it, and before many years had passed his own work owed a large debt to Girtin.

SLIDE: / Landscape with a stream at Wenham, pen and ink, 7 1/8 by 11 3/4 in
Victoria and Albert Museum, 1796

^ Cottage at East Bergholt, pen and ink, 7 1/8 by 11 3/4 in., 1796
Victoria and Albert Museum.

In 1795, perhaps encouraged by Beaumont, Constable persuaded his father to let him take a trip to London to measure his chances for success if he should decide to study painting seriously. Soon after he reached London he made the acquaintance of John Thomas Smith, a minor engraver and topographical draughtsman who was popularly known as "Antiquity". Smith at once encouraged him with offers of instruction & advice. During the next two years Constable accepted this tuition and divided his time between London and the country, keeping in touch with Smith by letters. He devoted his evenings to reading books on painting, Gessner's Essay on Landscape, and studying anatomy or drawing from plaster casts. A wide range of exercises included the copying of etchings by Ruysdael and battle scenes by Tempesta, and a brief but unsuccessful attempt at allegorical painting when he produced a pair of small stilted canvases representing a chemist and his opposite, an alchemist. In addition to these varied activities he also quickly

absorbed Smith's enthusiasm for the picturesque in rural scenery, spending a good deal of the daylight hours searching about the countryside for examples of "the neglected fast-ruining cottages" which Smith admired for their wide range of rough textures. In the Victoria and Albert Museum a sketch book of eleven pen drawings of such cottages and landscapes, dated 1796, shows the level of accomplishment Constable had reached at this time. He was using the pen in imitation of an etcher's point and following Smith's convention of scratchy zig-zag lines for foliage. The results were timid and poor in perspective, indicating that Constable certainly possessed no natural facility in draughtsmanship and needed to learn a great deal more if he wished to call himself an artist. For the time being his youthful eagerness was far in advance of his skill. The lack of promise in these early sketches makes it not at all surprising that in 1797 Smith advised Constable to follow his father's advice and become a miller.

Constable tried the milling business for the second time, but not for long. After two years of work he had had enough and on February 25, 1799 he reappeared in London with his father's permission to study painting and won a letter of introduction to Joseph Farrington, a pupil and follower of Richard Wilson. Farrington became a friend and advisor to Constable and after appraising Constable's drawing of a torso on March 2nd, gave him a letter of recommendation to Wilton, keeper of the Royal Academy. It must have been on this day that Constable wrote to his friend Dunthorne the following letter published by Leslie: "I am this morning admitted as a student at the Royal Academy. The figure which I drew for admittance was the Torso. I shall begin painting in earnest as soon as I have the loan of a sweet little picture of Jacob Ruysdael to copy."

Constable was now nearly 23, but still capable of nothing more than amateurish work, while Turner, only 25, was already well launched

and in two years would be elected a member of the Royal Academy. In Constable there was no indication of youthful genius that would enable him to quickly make up for lost time. Instead his hand was clumsy and this, combined with the haphazard nature of his early training, was a drawback. In the surroundings of the Academy school he quickly realized his limitations and at once mapped out a plan for overcoming them. His chief drawback, he knew, was his slim knowledge of the basic processes of painting, and in a letter to Dunthorne he wrote: "I shall remain in town the chief of this summer. Indeed I find it necessary to lag at copying some time yet to acquire execution. The more facility of practice I get the more pleasure I shall find in my art, without the power of execution I should be continually embarrassed and it would burden me." The list of masters whose paintings he copied is imposing in length and variety. In partnership with another young artist Richard Reinagle he bought a Ruysdael for 70 pounds. Sir George lent him Claude's Hagar and the Angel to copy and Farington lent him Hadrian's Villa by Wilson. Other references in his letters mention Ruysdael, two more Wilsons and a landscape by Annibale Caracci and there were many others as well. From this time on Constable remained an untiring student of landscape by recognized masters. As a self-imposed and self-disciplined training, his copying gave him what he wanted; a sound knowledge of standard techniques and methods of picture-building which he could use to his own ends.

In 1802, for the first time, one of his paintings was accepted by the academy for exhibition. It was a step forward but he was nevertheless dissatisfied with his progress and felt that a still more serious study of nature was required before he could paint landscape properly. In May of this year he wrote to Dunthorne: "For these past two years I have been running after pictures and seeking the truth at second hand. I have not endeavoured to represent nature with the same

elevation of mind, but have rather endeavoured to make my performance look as if really executed by other men. I am come to a determination to make no idle visits this summer or to give up my time to commonplace people. I shall return to Bergholt, where I shall make some laborious studies from nature, and I shall endeavour to get a pure and unaffected representation of the scenes that may employ me, with respect to colour particularly, and anything else; drawing I am pretty well master of. There is little or nothing in the exhibition worth looking at. There is room enough for a natural painter. The great vice of the present day is 'bravura', an attempt at something beyond the truth. In attempting to do something better than well they do what is in reality good for nothing. Fashion always had and will ever have its day; but truth in all things only will last and can have just claims to posterity."

Here, for the first time, Constable was formulating his artistic ideals. He was deliberately abandoning the traditional and fashionable elegance of classical landscape and consciously setting out on his own. For some years, however, his work continued to show clearly the influence of the painters he had copied as well as the fresh results of his own observation.

SLIDE: \ Dedham Vale, oil on canvas, 17 1/8 by 13 1/2 ins., V & A, Sept 1802

∠ Claude: Hagar and the Angel (owned by Sir George Beaumont and copied by Constable)

Dedham Vale, 1802, painted over a brown ground which is visible in places, has long been recognized as the source from which Constable composed his large oil painting of the same title exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1828. The Claudian arrangement of a distant view framed between two groups of trees in this representation of Dedham Vale in September 1802 is, according to Shirley, based on Claude's Hagar and the Angel, which it will be recalled, Constable first saw at the house of the Dowager Lady Beaumont in Dedham. Constable, however, has here

added the fresh results of his own observation of nature. The trees in this scene from the countryside endeared to him from its association with his childhood are not forced into the mould of ideal form, mixed in species and improved upon in structure, but recognizably portrayed as they existed. Although they are painted meticulously, leaf by leaf, with single dabs of pigment for individual form they are not arranged in decorative patterns, nor are the irregular outlines of the foliage reduced to rhythmical, scalloped edges. Constable has now begun to pay close attention to the details of natural form and no longer sees nature through the eyes of others. Judged by Claudian standards of taste, to which the critics of his day were accustomed, this painting was deficient in grace and its forms lacked decisive outlines. Judged by the standards Constable was evolving for himself, he could answer that it was closer to the disorderly profusion he saw in nature. The neutral sky and the absence of clouds give a feeling of openness that suggests, perhaps, the influence of the watercolors of Girtin.

Constable's close observation of nature in this study, particularly of the effect of light, led the perceptive and sympathetic West to Remark: "You must have loved nature very much before you could have painted this."

SLIDE: ^{1 R} View from the shore over the Thames or the Medway, pencil and grey wash, 9 1/2 by 1 1/2, V&A, April 1803.

^{1 L} A brig at anchor and other shipping in the Thames, pencil, 7 7/8 by 10 ins, V&A, April 1803.

His Majesty's ship Victory, Capt. E. Harvey, in the Memorable Battle of Trafalgar, between two French ships of the Line. Water color, 20 3/8 by 28 7/8, V&A, 1806.

Wilhem Van de Velde: Boat Scene, Clowes Collection.

In April 1803 Constable made a trip from London to Deal, in the Coutts, East Indiaman, with Captain Torin, a friend of his father. In a letter to Dunthorne dated May 23, 1803 Constable states: " I was near a month on board, and was much employed in making drawings of ships in all situations. I saw all sorts of weather. Some the most delightful, and some as melancholy. But such is the enviable state of a painter that he finds delight in every dress nature can possibly assume."

During the course of this trip Constable made 130 rapid pencil and wash sketches of the shipping he saw along the coast and on the Medway. They are, for the most part, dependent in style on the Dutch sea-scapiats, particularly Van de Velde, whose example he found useful in treating a new type of sujet. ^(R) Constable left the courts at Gravesend to walk to Rochester and Chatham. From Chatham he hired a boat to see the men-of-war in the Medway and sketch His Majesty's Ship Victory in three views. Then he rejoined the ship at Gravesend. Some of these marine sketches made in 1803 were subsequently used as the basis of the 1806 water color drawing of H.M.S Victory. ^(L) The drawing was a failure. It was one of the rare occasions when Constable took an interest in contemporary events and one of his few attempts at historical painting which was then flourishing at the Academy under the leadership of West. At that time historical painting was considered the highest type of art, of far greater value than landscape, and it was finding plenty to do in the service of England's growing nationalism. Nothing indicates CONstable's complete love of nature to the exclusion of other interests more clearly than the almost complete lack of reference, not only in his paintings, but in his letters as well, to the events of the times in which he lived--the French Revolution, the rise of "Napoléon," the dark days when England faced him alone and the victories that brought about his downfall.

Much of Constable's activity for the next seven years (1803-10) was to prove a false line of development and in retrospect uncharacteristic of his career. Disgusted with his slow progress and the restricted outlook of the art world in London he was satisfied to spend the greater part of 1804 in a house near his father's painting portraits of farmers and their wives at prices suitable to a small local trade. (3 guineas if a hand were included, 2 if left out). Portraits would sell, while his landscapes could find no buyers. For this economic reason, portrait

painting became a subsidiary and continuing line of activity. His early portraits show that at first he was quite content to work in the established tradition of Reynolds and Lawrence. Later examples, such as the portrait of Mrs. Constable in the National Gallery, are more individual and forceful. It was probably for economic reasons that Constable also in 1804 accepted a commission to paint an altar-piece in the church at Brantham, a small village not far from East Bergholt. The subject, Christ Blessing the Little Children, failed to call forth anything original in treatment. As his portraiture fell back on academic tradition, so in the altar piece he relied heavily on the style of religious painting that was taught at the Academy. The finished work, which still hangs in Brantham Church, indicates that he was here on unfamiliar ground and still almost hopelessly inept at drawing and in modeling figures in light and shade. Constable painted a second altar piece in 1809. Christ Blessing the Elements, in the Nayland Church, which was found, by David Pike Watts, to be guilty of errors on 25 counts, and he did not hesitate to give Constable, his nephew, the benefit of his observations by listing them in a letter.

SLIDE: / R Constable: View in the Lake District, pencil and watercolor, 1806

Girtin: View of Hills and River, watercolor, c. 1800.

Constable: View in Barrowdale, pencil and watercolor, 7 1/2 by 10 3/4 ins, oct. 4, 1806, V&A, "Dark Autumnal day at noon, tone more blooming, this effect exceedingly terrific, and much like the beautiful Gaspar I saw in Margaret Street"

Cozens, J. R.: View of Island of Elba

In 1806 Constable made a trip to the Lake District where he spent the better part of September and October. The mountainous region of Cumberland and Westmoreland had become a recognized substitute for the Alps. Suisse and Italie, closed to English travellers by the Napoleonic blockade. They offered an easily accessible district in which nature could be enjoyed in its grander aspects, wild and unspoiled by man.

Constable's reactions to the mountains were un-conventional. Instead of admiring the scenery, he found the solemn loneliness of the mountains and their immensity unattractive in comparasison with the spaciousness of flat river valleys. In his biography of Constable, Leslie reports: "I have heard him say that the solitude of mountains oppressed his spirits. His nature was primarily social and could not feel satisfied with scenery, however grand in itself, that did not abound in human associations. He required villages, churches, farm-houses, and I believe it was as much from natural temperament as from early impressions that his first love, in landscape, was also his latest love."

/L These romantic views of mountain scenery done by Constable on his trip to the Lake District in 1806 are, as Graham Reynolds has determined, primarily derivative. They are in the tradition of John Robert Cozens and reflect, it can be argued, the direct influence of Girtin's watercolors. Girtin's example helped Constable to here attain that broader, less detailed rendering of form and spaciousness of planning that would become characteristic of his subsequent compositions. The simple shapes of the mountains, the wide flat areas of tone, the color schemes of dark greens and browns and purples all echo Gritin's work. /L Constable's watercolors of the lakes, however, do not have the more subtle qualities of Girtin's smooth flowing washes and his careful gradations of tones. Constable's washes are dry, with sharp nervous edges that capitalize on the roughness of the paper to suggest the vibration of light. His highlights, conveying light shattering into splinters on an uneven hillside, are often obtained by scraping the paper vigorously with a knife (Vair: View in Barrowdale). It is these sketches done on the 1806 Lake District trip that provide the bases of most of Constables works during the next three years, 1807-10.

The period 1803-1810, a period which in retrospect would be seen

as uncharacteristic of Constable's career, nevertheless must not be ignored, for it was during these six or seven years that Constable, through his portraiture in the tradition of Reynolds and Lawrence, his watercolors in the manner of Girtin, and his feeble attempts at painting altar pieces, had mastered drawing and learned to make his color both rich and natural. In addition he learned to limit his subject matter to his native countryside.

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SLIDE: Constable; Dedham Vale, 1811, oil on canvas, 31 by 51 ins,
 collection of Major R. G. Proby

R Reubens: Sunset Landscape

In 1811 Constable sent a landscape to the Royal Academy called Twilight. The painting was referred to by Farrington as "a view near Dedham, Essex" and is now known as Dedham Vale, 1811. Here Constable displayed the full results of his long training in the techniques of the old masters. He used a dark reddish brown for the underpainting, fresh solid pigment to throw objects into relief, and warm glazes to pull the painting together. It was well received by the Academy and Sir Thomas Lawrence, the future president, recognized its beauty and twice singled it out for favourable comment. In the development of his style, Dedham Vale 1811, marked the close of Constable's early period of apprenticeship. This painting gives so clear and detailed a panorama of the heart of Constable's country that Reynolds has used it for the identification of topographical features and landmarks beloved by the artist. Although Constable is no longer running after nature at second hand, for the most part at least, the broad meadows with the sun falling across them of Dedham Vale, 1811 are reminiscent of the Landscapes of Reubens. The Chateau de Stein of Reubens, owned by Sir George Beaumont, was one of Constable's favourite pictures.

4.
SLIDE: Barges on the Stour, with Dedham Church in the Distance,
c. 1811, oil on paper laid on canvas, 10 1/4 by 12 1/4 ins.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

In many ways the oil sketches of Constable, which date from the year 1810 onward, are the surest guide to his artistic and spiritual struggle for self-expression. Most of these sketches, painted on the spot under the direct inspiration of nature, reveal a fresh naturalism of outlook and capture what were essentially passing manifestations of nature and changing effects of light. In these small works Constable avoided the pitfalls of emotional involvement on the one hand and on the other of dry literalness. Being relatively small, they did not present the problems of handling paint over a large area, with its attendant risks of losing immediacy. Although a few were used as studies for large-scale works, and others as subjects to be engraved in the English Landscape series, they were, by and large, painted in the first place for the artists own pleasure and instruction, i. e., as ends in themselves. Examples of painting in oil on paper can be found on the continent as early as the 16th century, but Constable appears to have been the first to fully exploit its possibilities for rapid sketching from nature. One of the most remarkable of Constable's oil sketches is Barges on the Stour with Dedham Church in the distance. Herein his command of effects of light is seen in the subtle misty tones in the darkness which comes before a summer rain storm. The immediacy of his apprehension of all the features of the landscape, their relevance to and subordination in the general effect, is conveyed by the dashing strokes of his fully charged brush which encompasses detail without losing breadth. In all probability the view represented in this sketch is the lock at Flatford, painted with the artists back to Flatford Mill. Here the artist has avoided the obvious device of adding a flash of

lightning and relied instead on subtle lighting effects and combinations of colours within a limited palette to achieve the eerie effect of the darkness before an impending storm.

SLIDE: Study of a cart and horses, with a carter and dog. Oct. 1814
Oil on paper with a brown ground, 6 1/2 by 9 3/8, V & A.


R Stour Valley and Dedham Village, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

In 1814 Constable put his name down for election as an Associate of the Royal Academy for the third time. As in 1809 and 1810, he was defeated. The Academicians were willing to credit Constable with good design but they felt his paintings looked unfinished because he would not take the trouble to paint in the details carefully. This was the usual criticism applied to Constable's work by those who failed to understand or appreciate his shorthand description of form. He was not shirking his duty as the academicians thought. On the contrary he was giving up the superficial appeal of highly wrought imitative painting for a sound reason. He was painting the total visual impression of a landscape in terms of tone, not in terms of accumulated detail, and to do so the sharp definition of individual objects had to be subordinated to overall effects. The Academicians were unaware that Constable was moving steadily towards the mode of vision that would be most characteristic of 19th century painting.

The oppositions and criticism which greeted his innovations in style did not discourage him from continuing his experiments. In Oct he wrote to Maria Bicknell, the woman he would marry on Dec 6, 1816, "We have had a most delightful season. It is many years since I have pursued my studies so uninterruptedly and so calmly, or worked with so much steadiness or confidence. I hope you will see me an artist sometime or another." One of the works done this summer was an oil

sketch of "A Cart and Horses." Herein can be seen Constable's new sureness of brush stroke as well as his new grasp of three dimensional form. The critics, however, were not impressed with this development in style and continued to deplore the coarseness of his handling.

This sketch is one of a number of studies in both pencil and oil for the Stour Valley and Dedham Village in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The Boston picture represents a broad view over the stour valley, seen from an elevated position on a road. In the foreground men are shovelling gravel and two horses are harnessed to a cart beside which a dog is seated. As Beckett points out, the scene most likely represents a view of Dedham from the vicinity of Old Hall, East Bergholt. The artist appears to have taken great pains with the picture, and there are at least eleven studies connected with it.

SLIDE  Boat Building near Flatford Mill, oil on canvas, size of painted surface 20 by 24 1/4 inches., V&A., 1815

Constable was determined to become a member of the Royal Academy. To do so he realized that he must impress the academicians and the critics. For that reason, as well as his desire to please his fiancé's father, who was cynical of Constable's artistic merit, he completed the open-air oil we see before us. In a sense the painting owes its particular qualities to family pressure and to advice from Parrington, as a result of which Constable made a renewed study of the paintings of Claude before going into the country with the resolve that he would paint a picture entirely in the open air and more highly finished than was his custom. The cool colour of the Boat Building, which Leslie noted as eminently expressive of the heat of a summer day, is also evidence that Constable studied Claude to good effect. Compared with the dash and freedom of his oil sketches there is an atmosphere of constraint about some of the detail and the management of the composition; but he was able to introduce more breadth in a few details, such as the boy's back and the high lights on the tools. There is an un-assuming naturalism about the work consistent with its having been painted in the open air, but the greater pains bestowed upon the composing of the work have deprived it of some of the spontaneity seen in the open air oil sketches, Barges on the Stour with Dedham Church in the distance, for example, ^(R) or Weymouth Bay, done on his honeymoon in October, 1816.

SLIDE: Weymouth Bay, oil on millboard, 8 by 9 3/4 ins. 1816, V&A

John Constable and Maria Bicknell were married by Fisher at Saint Martin's-in-the-Fields, London, on October 2, 1816. The newly married couple accepted Fisher's invitation to spend their honeymoon in Dorset and remained there for the better part of the autumn. The most interesting scenery seems to have been the coastline of Weymouth Bay, where the hairpin curve of the beach sweeping into the distance past steep cliffs and rolling downs was unexpectedly impressive. This oil sketch of Weymouth Bay, with its wild, dramatic and stormy sky, as well as the composition as a whole, clearly demonstrates that Constable, in his oil sketches, which were not exhibited during his lifetime, was much less dependent on past traditions and conventions than in his works finished for exhibition.

R

SLIDE: A Scene on the River Stour, Frick Collection, 1819.

Constable's marriage inaugurated the happiest, most productive and successful years of his professional career. Moods of nostalgia and longing gave way to exhilarating joy in the present. All his senses took on a new keenness in probing out afresh the qualities of nature which delighted him most--the brilliance of sunshine and its warmth, the cooling freshness of morning dew and summer showers, the fecundity of meadows and the drama of cloud and wind-filled skies. The next five years, 1816-21, are marked by a change in Constable's work habits. After his marriage he set himself to paint pictures which should embody much more ambitiously than anything he had yet produced his sentiment for the valley of the Stour. He had laid the foundations and had a variety of sketches to draw on and soon settled down to concentrate in earnest into welding them into large compositions to be painted, not

in the open air, but, without loss of natural colour and feeling, in his studio. With the completion, exhibition at the Royal Academy, and sale of the White Horse in 1819 he first succeeded in this aim. This "Scene on the River Stour", which later became known, from the white horse in the barge in the foreground, as the White Horse, was the largest work Constable had yet produced and the first of a series of six foot canvases on which his reputation depended during his lifetime and for many years afterwards. If the sketch of this subject, which is now in the Widener Collection in Washington, can be accepted as genuine, it was also the first instance in which he is known to have used a full sized sketch in the preparation of the finished picture. The White Horse attracted more attention than anything he had previously exhibited. The press hailed it enthusiastically. The author of a review in the Literary Chronicle exclaimed in astonished praise: "What a grasp of everything beautiful in rural scenery." The critic in the examiner elaborately contrasted his style with Turner's, dividing honours between the two: "He does not give a sentiment, a soul, to the exterior of nature as Mr. Turner does; he does not at all exalt the spectator's mind, which Mr. Turner eminently does, but he gives her outward look, her complexion, her physical countenance. He has none of the poetry of nature like Mr. Turner, but he has more of her portraiture." These favourable press reviews were indications that recognition for his work should not be long in coming. Constable, in fact, was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy on November 1, 1819, winning over the head of his friend Leslie. Constable was now 43.

The preparation of a large canvas each year/^{was} a goal he now set for himself to reach during the remainder of his life, though it was by no means easy for him to keep up the pace. Each painting was the result of careful study and unending experiment. Initial ideas were usually contained in small pencil sketches made in many cases without any conscious thought of the larger composition that would follow. The first

FIGURE 2. Fir trees at Hampstead, pencil, 9 1/8 by 6 1/4 ins, Oct, 2, 1820;
Victoria and Albert Museum.

(R) SLIDE: Watermeadows near Salisbury, oil on canvas, date unknown, V&A

A further demonstration of the virtuosity of Constable in the early twenties is seen in his "Watermeadows near Salisbury", referred to by Hawes as "the most illusionistic landscape Constable ever painted." It is a small oil painting which is to all intents and purposes an out-of-doors sketch. Reynolds erroneously dates the painting 1829. Hawes, in his review of the Catalog of the Constable Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum, demonstrates that the placid mood of the landscape, the unforced naturalness of all the forms and reflections, and the exceptionally naturalistic color, bespeak Constable's style of the early twenties. This is the painting by Constable which, when it came before the council of the Academy in 1830 was rejected as "the nasty green thing", although it should have been hung without

scrutiny since Constable was then an Academician.

① SLIDE: Wivenhoe Park, National Gallery, Washington, 1816.

Although Constable did not actually settle permanently in Hampstead until 1827, he was accustomed during the early twenties to move there in the summer with his somewhat delicate wife and young children, and Hampstead is perhaps particularly associated with his studies of clouds, many of them painted in 1821-22, which are among the more original of his achievements. Reynolds and Hawes have convincingly demonstrated that these cloud studies of 1821 and 1822 are not, as Kurt Badt once suggested, the result of a direct influence on Constable of Luke Howards cloud classifications which appeared in volume one of his *Climate of London*, published in 1818. Howard's book probably played a part but conceivably not by suggesting considerations which had not previously occurred to Constable, but rather by crystallizing his ideas. Badt's thesis that there is a causal relationship between the publication of Howards meteorological text and the appearance of Constable's cloud studies is, as Hawes has stated, a zealous oversimplification, which does not consider the background of Constable. Constable, it will be recalled, was the son of a miller and worked in his fathers mills for a period of three years. As such he was very early given to observing carefully the changing atmospheric conditions of the sky over East Bergholt. A further refutation of Badt's ^{causal} thesis is offered by the fact that Constable, as early as 1800, showed a vivid interest in cloud formations. In that year he made a series of twenty pencil copies of cloud forms after engravings by Alexander Cozens. Constable's interest in clouds can also be seen in his works painted before 1818, the publication date of Howard's text. Weymouth Bay (1816) and

Wivenhoe Park (1816), which we see before us, both clearly show Constable's awareness of the sky in landscape painting. Both works were exhibited before the publication of Howards classification of cloud forms.

Constable's understanding of the significance of the sky in landscape painting is clearly stated in the now famous letter of October 23, 1821 to Fisher: " I have done a good deal of skying. I am determined to conquer all difficulties, and that most arduous one among the rest. And now, talking of skies, it is amusing to us to see how admirably you fight my battles; you certainly take the best possible ground for getting your friend out of a scrape. That landscape painter who does not make his skies a very material part of his composition, neglects to avail himself of one of his greatest aids. Sir Joshua Reynolds, speaking of the landscapes of Titian, of Salvator and of Claude, says, "Even their skies seem to sympathize with their subjects." I have often been advised to consider my sky as a white sheet thrown behind the objects. Certainly, if the sky is obtrusive, as mine are, it is bad; but if it is evaded, as mine are not, it is worse; it must and always shall be with me an effectual part of the composition. It will be difficult to name a class of landscape in which the sky is not the keynote, the standard of scale, and the chief organ of sentiment. You may conceive, then, what a white sheet would do for me, impressed as I am with these notions, and they cannot be erroneous. The sky is the source of light in Nature, and governs everything; even our common observations on the weather of the day are altogether suggested by it. The difficulty of skies in painting is very great, both as to composition and execution; because with all their brilliancy, they ought not to come forward, or, indeed, be hardly thought of any more than extreme distances are; but this does not apply to phenomena or accidental effects of sky, because they always attract particularly. I may say

this to you, though you do not want to be told that I know very well what I am about, and that my skies have not been neglected."

IR
SLIDE: Study of sky and trees at Hampstead, 1821, oct 2, oil on paper, 9 5/8 by 11 3/4, V&A

IL Study of sky and trees. Oil on paper, 10 by 11 3/4, c. 1821, V&A
Study of Clouds, Sept 5, 1822, 11 3/4 by 19 inches, V&A, oil on paper.

Study of Cirrus Clouds, c. 1822, 4 1/2 by 7 ins, V&A, oil on paper.

The cloud studies of 1821 are not, for the most part, pure studies of clouds. Treetops or parts of buildings are included as in the two sketches in oil on paper we see before us now. Constable observed the foliage catching the sunlight in small patches of light and recorded the direction and force of the wind which caused the rapid change of the clouds. In these 1821 cloud studies there is a much greater sense of changing light and the catching of passing effects than in the pure cloud studies which belong to the following year, 1822. L4 R-2

These two cloud studies of 1822 are among the fifty or so pure sky studies done in that year by Constable at Hampstead. Although these sketches were undertaken as a means to an end, as working studies to develop the feeling for aerial space and light in his finished compositions, they were never surpassed. Particularly in the skies of his later work, Constable failed to recapture the unforced, natural quality of these sketches done in 1821 and 22 at Hampstead. These sketches done directly from nature in oil on paper, moreover, merit being considered, ^{together} with Constable's six foot canvases, as his original work.

SLIDE: ^L First sketch of the Hay Wain, Melon Collection, Washington.

R Full-scale study for the Hay Wain, oil on canvas, 54 by 74 ins., c. 1821, Victoria and Albert Museum.

The Hay Wain, oil on canvas, 51 1/4 by 73 in; National Gallery, London.

On April 1, 1821 Constable wrote to Fisher, after a winter of steady work in his studio: "My picture goes to the Academy on the 10th, it is not so grand as Tinney's. Owing perhaps to the masses not being so impressive, the power of the chiaroscuro is lessened but it has a more novel look than I expected. I have yet much to do with it, and calculate for three or four days there." The picture of which Constable here speaks is the Hay Wain, which appeared in the catalog of the exhibition at the Royal Academy as Landscape--Noon. ^{name sketch} The Hay Wain marks the turning point in a long, stubborn struggle. It was painted in a year when Constable's fortunes began to mend, and is the fruit of a renewed self-confidence. In it he is able to carry out on a large scale the principles which he had long maintained in his sketches and his letters. The methods by which he contrived to carry the breadth and freshness of a small picture into a large one can be followed at every step, since, from the Hay Wain onwards, each important composition is the culmination of a series of studies, most of which survive. The germ of each composition is to be found in the hundreds of tiny pencil drawings from nature which provided him with his general material; but the first decisive step is a small and very rough sketch in oils which states ^(on the left) the main theme of the picture with dramatic emphasis. Oil sketches of intermediary size, and variant renderings of difficult passages follow and then comes the really surprising and essential step. Constable makes a study in oils the size of the final picture. N., ^(on the rt)

motives in doing so were, perhaps, more psychological than technical. "Painting" as he said "is for me another word for feeling," and his feelings about nature could only be expressed in a language too vivid for the taste of the day. The boldness and freedom of his touch were partly a means of rendering effects of light, partly a means of expressing emotion; and it was only possible to conserve the vividness of the original emotion on this scale if he felt free from all anxieties of finish and logical composition. The full-size studies were not so much dress rehearsals as emotional discharges which allowed him to attack his final canvas without a feeling of frustration. (HL)

The general composition of both the full-sized oil study in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the completed canvas in the National Gallery in London is essentially the same, except for minor differences in the number and placing of the figures. Nevertheless, the finished canvas presents a marked contrast to the full-sized oil sketch. The sketch has none of the quietness of the finished picture. It is filled throughout with nervous movement resulting from a freer use of the palette knife and brush and a scattering of rich impasto for highlights. In addition, the range of color in the full-sized oil sketch is not as great as in the National Gallery canvas. The Victoria and Albert Hay Wey is almost a monochrome compared to the National Gallery version, the greens being kept down to khaki and the blues, for the most part, to grey. The finished canvas similarly demonstrates that Constable established more firmly the planes, particularly noticeable in the middle distance, and enriched the drawing. The figures in the foreground in the oil sketch have been removed, according to Kenneth Clark, for Constable at this time was so intent on naturalness as to avoid any appearance of artifice. Actually there is one note in the

National Gallery version which, however, according to Clark, is slightly artificial: the red harness. The tiresome convention that a spot of red was necessary to off-set the green of a landscape was so firmly established and invariably used by Morlant, Bonington, de Louthembourg, Turner--every landscape painter up to Courbet--that Constable seems to have been almost unconscious of it.

Since in three years time the art world of Paris would be greatly affected by the revolutionary naturalism of the Hay Wain, it is interesting to learn what the critics had to say when it appeared at the Academy in 1821. It did not create a sensation. Whitley, in his *Art in England 1821-37*, has listed seven prominent London journals and newspapers which took no notice of it in their reviews of the exhibition. Charles Nodier, a visiting Frenchman, in a travel book entitled Promenade de Dieppe aux Montagnes d'Ecosse published on his return to France, wrote: "The palm of the exhibition belongs to a large landscape by Constable to which the ancient or modern masters have very few masterpieces that could be put in opposition. Near, it is only broad daubings of ill-laid colour with offend the touch as well as the sight, they are so coarse and uneven. At the distance of a few steps, it is picturesque country, rustic dwellings, a low river where little waves foam over the pebbles, a cart crossing the pond. It is water, air, sky. It is Ruysdael, Wouwerman or Constable." This enthusiasm of Nodier was typical of the French reaction to Constable's work. Three years later, in 1824, the Hay Wain, together with a view on the River Stour and a small picture of Yarmouth were sold to the Paris dealer Arrowsmith for 250 pounds. Later in that year Arrowsmith bought three more of Constable's canvases and commissioned seven additional ones. His friend Schroth, also a dealer in Paris, was introduced to Constable and he in turn placed an order for three. Further signs that Constable's reputation was growing

on the continent were given by visits to his studio by the director of the Academy at Antwerp and a sale to a French viscount. Before Constable's dealings with Arrowsmith and Schroth came to an end in 1825, partially the result of a clash of personalities and partially the result of quarreling over prices, twenty seven examples of his art had made their way to France. This is an important fact which will be considered in a later section of this paper when an attempt to estimate Constable's influence on 19th century art in general will be undertaken.

(R) SLIDE: Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's grounds, oil on canvas, 34 1/2 by 44 inches, the painting is executed on a thin linen laid on a coarser canvas.

Constable's large Academy picture for 1823 was "Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's grounds," of which he wrote to Fisher reporting how well it was received by the academy: "My Cathedral looks well, it is much approved by the Academy. It was the most difficult subject in landscape I ever had on my easel. I have not flinched at the work of the windows, buttresses, etc, but I have still kept to my grand organ color and effect, and have, as usual, make my escape in the evanescence of the chiaroscuro. I think you will like it." This painting, an interruption to the series of canal and river scenes, was undertaken rather grudgingly as a commission for Bishop Fisher. Constable has left a vivid account of his struggles with this picture, in which he had to meet his patron's desire for an exact portrayal of the cathedral, and to combine this with his own conception of a pictorial treatment. The latter required the animated sky with its black cloud behind the Cathedral spire, which never satisfied the Bishop and which, after remaining a point of contention for two years, was the occasion of

Constable's painting another version without it. One of these later versions, signed and dated 1826, is now in the Frick Collection in NYC. In his description of this painting Leslie seems to be primarily concerned with the cows beneath the seemingly invented trees. He states: "In the foreground Constable introduced a circumstance familiar to all who are in the habit of observing cattle. With cows there is generally, if not always, one which is called, not very accurately, the master cow, and there is scarcely anything the rest of the herd will venture to do until the master cow has taken the lead. On the left of the picture this individual is drinking and turns with surprise and jealousy to another cow approaching the canal lower down for the same purpose. They are of the Suffolk breed, without horns; and it is a curious mark of Constable's fondness for everything connected with his native country that scarcely an instance can be found of a cow in any of his pictures, be the scene where it may, with horns."

SLIDE: A study for "A boat passing a Lock" (The Lock): Detail-man at lock; oil, 53 3/4 by 48, Phila. Museum of Art, 1822

R A Boat passing a Lock, Royal Academy, London.

A Boat Passing a Lock, (The Lock), went to the Academy exhibition of 1824, where it was received favorably, despite Constable's feelings of incompleteness and trepidation. In a letter to Fisher Constable discusses this painting as follows: "My lock is liked at the Academy, and indeed it forms a decided feature, and its light cannot be put out, because it is the light of nature, the mother of all that is valuable in poetry, painting, or anything else where an appeal to the soul is required. The language of the heart is the only one that is universal, and as Sterne says, he disregards all rules, but makes his way to the heart as he can. My execution annoys most of them and all the scholastic

ones. Perhaps the sacrifice I make for lightness and brightness is too much, but these things are the essence of landscape and any extreme is better than white lead and dado painting. I sold this picture on the day of the opening, one hundred and fifty guineas including the frame to Mr. Morrison. I do hope that my exertions may tend towards popularity." Five years later, 1829, Constable was elected a Royal Academician. He repeated the same subject for his diploma canvas.

(R)

SLIDE: Brighton Beach, with colliers, oil on paper, 5 7/8 by 9 3/4 ins, July 19, 1824

The lightness and brightness of "A boat passing a lock" is similarly seen in Brighton Beach with Colliers of the same year, 1824. This oil sketch is inscribed on the back in pencil: "3d tide receding left the beach wet--Head of the Chain Pier Brighton Beach July 19 Evg., 1824 My Dear Maria's Birthday your Goddaughter--Very lovely Evening--looking eastward--cliffs and light off a dark grey--background very white and golden light." Constable has achieved a remarkable sense of atmosphere in this little sketch, which he painted as he sat at the head of Chain Pier. A warm clear light pervades the whole picture, and there is a gentle breeze filling the white sails of the barges as a fine summer day draws to a close. This sketch was among a group of sketches which Constable lent to Fisher. Referring to them in a letter of the 5th of January 1825, addressed to Fisher, he says, "I have enclosed in the box a dozen of my oil sketches--perhaps the sight of the sea may cheer Mrs. Fisher; they were done in the lid of my box on my knees as usual." Fisher returned them 3 months later, together with two volumes of Paley's sermons which, he said, "are fit companions of your sketches, being exactly like them: full of vigour, and mature, fresh, original, warm from observation of nature, hasty, unpolished, untouched afterwards."

SLIDE: ^(L) Full-Scale study for "The Leaping Horse", oil on canvas, 51 by 74 inches, c. 1825, Victoria and Albert Museum.

^(R) The Leaping Horse, London, Royal Academy, 1825

Constable's most important work in the Academy exhibition of 1825 was the Leaping Horse. It was a canal scene, as Constable remarked in a letter to Fisher, "full of the bustle incident to such a scene with dogs, horses, boys and Men and Women and Children, and best of all old timber-props, Water plants, Willow stumps, sedges, old nets etc." Many people believe this to be Constable's greatest masterwork. Others have preferred the wonderful and dynamic sketch in oil in the Victoria and Albert Museum which Andrew Forge called "the first instance of an art which is all personal expression." The Victoria-Albert study in oil for the Leaping Horse ^(on the left in color) is carried so far that we may well believe, as is hinted by Leslie in the first edition of his life of Constable, that it was first intended to be the finished picture, but afterwards turned into a sketch. Here the effect of overwhelming power and of demonic energy is primarily conveyed by the summary treatment. Its solemnity is aided by the remarkable unity of light, and the multitude of small accents do not disturb it by a distracting glitter, for they are all subordinate to, and justified by, the main effect. This is perhaps the only composition by Constable in which the action of the figures gives the key to the feeling of the whole; the energy of the horse's leap has transmitted itself to the landscape, the sky, and the painter's method. The painting is not so much the exhaustion of a rich stream of ideas as its conclusive summing up.

In reference to the finished painting ^{on the right} Forge has remarked: "The whole scene is concerned with violent urgency as a clash of light and dark, with ~~drumming~~ ^{drumming} ~~towering~~ ^{towering} ~~drums~~ ^{drums} and turbulent sky. It is imaginative

rather than inventive in the way that Turner invents a make-believe atmosphere, and Constable may well have witnessed a scene very like this. But once again he has controlled and articulated his subject in impressions by basing it, like so many of his other compositions, on the pictorial conventions of the Roman school of Poussin and Claude, which involves the strong intersection of verticals and horizontals, between which he deploys the gradual movements backwards in space. Witness the square block of trees at the left and the nearly vertical stumps, trees, and mast which divide the canvas into orderly compartements.

Leslie explains the title of this painting as follows: "The chief object in the foreground is a horse mounted by a boy, leaping one of the barriers which cross the towing paths along the Stour to prevent the cattle from quitting their bounds. As these bars are without gates, the horses, which are of a much finer race, and kept in better conditions than the wretched animals that tow the barges near London, all are taught to leap; their harness ornamented over the collar with crimson fringe adds to their picturesque appearance, and Constable, by availing himself of these advantages, and relieving the horse, which is of a dark colour, upon a bright sky, makes him a very imposing object."

(R) SLIDE: Hadleigh Castle, 1829, oil on canvas, 56 1/4 by 66 inches, Tate Gallery, London.

On November 28, 1828 Maria Constable died. Her death was a blow from which Constable never entirely recovered. On February 10, 1829 Constable was elected a Royal Academician. It followed only a few months after the death of Constable's mother. He complained bitterly when the news reached him that the honour came too late since he could no longer share it. According to the custom, newly elected Academicians called on the president, Sir Thomas Lawrence, to pay their respects. Lawrence offended Constable deeply by implying that he should consider

himself very fortunate in being elected over the heads of historical painters of great talent who were waiting on the list of candidates. The president's attitude, which Constable knew was shared by many others who placed subject matter first in judging painting, made it appear an act of justice rather than a mark of distinction. Instead of feeling more secure in the knowledge that he had now reached the top of the ladder, Constable lost his nerve over the picture he was preparing to send to the exhibition, deciding that it should go only if his friends thought it was good enough. He wrote to Leslie for his opinion. Hadleigh Castle, the picture he had submitted to Leslie for judgement, finally went to the Academy. His idea for Hadleigh Castle probably dated back to his first visit to the ruins in 1803. Just as Constable never travelled expressly for subjects, so he did not draw expressly as a preliminary to painting, though he might at any later time turn back to neglected pages of his sketch books for subjects, as he did in this instance. Hadleigh Castle is the first painting done by Constable after the death of his wife Maria. Poole appropriately refers to this painting as "an elegy for Maria, and a melancholy if impressive dirge it is." After his wife's death Constable was subject to fits of depression and he was often considered argumentative by his friends. "How for some wise purpose is every bit of sunshine clouded over in me," he wrote, "Can it be wondered at that I paint continual storms--'Tempest after tempest rolled'? Still the darkness is majestic and I have not to accuse myself of ever having prostituted the moral feeling of Art. My canvas soothes me into a forgetfulness of the scene of turmoil and folly and worse." The painting fully embodies the following lines from Thomson's Summer, with which its title was accompanied in the catalogue of the exhibition:

"The desert joys
Wildly, through all his melancholy bounds,
Rude ruins glitter; and the briny deep,
Seen from some pointed promontory's top,
Far to the blue horizon's utmost verge,
Restless, reflects a floating gleam."

(L) SLIDE: Stonehenge, watercolor, 15 1/4 by 23 1/4 ins. 1836, V&A

Peter Paul Reubens: Landscape with a rainbow, oil on wood,
37 1/4 by 48 1/2, Munich, mid 1630's.

The last seven years of Constable's life were a period of disheartenment, aggravated by poor health and a general loss of vitality. Age magnified his susceptibility to disappointments and criticism. Many who knew him chiefly in these last years remembered him as an embittered and disillusioned old man. The Academy paintings of this last period lost the warmth and open air freshness that had characterized those of the previous decade. Stonehenge, a watercolor in the V&A, painted in 1836, is a representative example of the stormy moods which now predominated, seeking expression in sudden violent shiftings of light and high winds. Water color, which he had used sparingly for some years, now became a favorite medium. This water color of Stonehenge, with its mood of romantic desolation, celestial fireworks, and turbulent sky demonstrates that Constable, in his last years, was not incapable of exploiting the emotional possibilities of a subject to the highest possible degree. The mount of this water color bears the inscription: "Stonehenge, the mysterious monument of Stonehenge, standing remote on a bare and boundless heath, as much unconnected with the events of past ages as it is with the uses of the present; ^{it} carries you back beyond all historical records into the obscurity of a totally unknown period." (R)

The double rainbow introduced into this composition perhaps shows the influence of Reubens, whose landscapes Constable ^{had} admired for over 40 yrs.

On March 31, 1837, Constable died. His influence was felt in both England and France but not to the same degree or with the same consequences in each case. In England he found no immediate followers who could encompass the imaginative power of his work or elaborate on his technique. Those who studied his examples were men of lesser capacity. The two major English landscape painters of the generation after Constable, David Cox (1783-1859) and Peter de Wint (1784-1849) were essentially water colorists. Some of Constable's interest in the changing effects of weather reappeared in Cox, who was most at home on wide moorlands overhung with leaden skies and peopled with little figures scurrying through gusts of wind and rain. Sometimes his subjects were treated with vigour and earnestness and sometimes they were merely pretty in the Victorian manner. Cox spent a part of his early career as a scene painter for the theater which probably explains why his work is frequently superficial in its handling and lacking in the strong sense of material substance which underlines all of Constable's painting. De Wint, whose technical skill, sense of colour and broad fluid handling *is superior to Cox and* sometimes approached Constable in spirit in his fondness for cool shady trees or hot cornfields. For the most part, however, Constable had little influence on landscape painting ^{in England} in the years following his death. No artists of pioneering genius appeared on the scene to carry forward his study of outdoor light and color. But Constable was not alone in failing to stir up and considerable following, for the same applies to Turner, who found only second rate disciples in J. B. Pyne and William Severn. The explanation is found in general changes which were taking place in English art. With the growth of industrialism and the rise of a new and wealthy middle class, who rapidly became more influential as patrons of art, sentimentality in landscape assumed greater importance than accurate observation or technical experiment.

The rise of the Pre-Raphaelite movement also destroyed landscape as Constable had known it. The pre-Raphaelites rebelled against genre painting in all its forms and demanded precise images that conveyed specific meanings and worthwhile subjects treated in the clear and descriptive manner of early Renaissance painting. They wanted a message, and landscape as Constable had understood it, lacked the importance of of content upon which they insisted. Whenever the pre-Raphaelites turned to landscape, which was seldom, they recorded natural appearances with infinite pains but they ignored the unifying effects of light or the suggestions of movement and change which had been fundamental laws in all of Constable's paintings.

Constable's paintings, however, had a maximum effect in France. It will be recalled that before Constable's dealings with the Parisian art dealers Arrowsmith and Schroth had come to an end in 1825, 27 examples of his art had made their way to France, among them the Hay Wain and A View on the Stour, as well as Hamstead Heath. On Feb. 17, 1824 Constable wrote to Fisher announcing Arrowsmith's intention to exhibit his works in the French capital. He said in that letter: "His object is to take a show of my pictures to Paris--perhaps to my advantage--for a prophet is not known in his own country." Fisher shrewdly replied: "The stupid English public, which has no judgement of its own, will begin to think that there is something in you if the French make your works national property. You have long laid under a mistake. Men do not purchase pictures because they admire them, but because others covet them."

The pictures exhibited at the Salon in Paris were a great success, and Constable was awarded a gold medal Charles X. The highest praises came from Géricault and Delacroix, both of whom recognized in Constable's work an original style. Géricault, who saw the Hay Wain

at the Royal Academy in 1821 returned "tout étourdi" and Delacroix declared in his journal, after visiting the salon of 1824: "Cet homme Constable m'a fait beaucoup de bien." ^(P) Delacroix was apparently struck by the brilliance and texture of the Hay Wain and returning to his studio where the Massacre de Scio was almost finished, he introduced rich semitones, gave transparency to the trees by means of glazing and added thick pigment to the lights. Villot adds that Delacroix had at once surprised one of Constable's secrets--the subdivision of colors. ^(X)

Because of his reception in Paris, Constable has sometimes been considered as the man who inspired the Barbizon painters and the French impressionists. No matter how much he may have appeared to anticipate them, this view is in danger of missing the point. The stifling influence of the increasingly powerful bourgeoisie in restoration France brought about its own reaction in certain French circles, and it was among these men that Constable was recognized as a kindred spirit. In a letter to Théophile Silvestre, Delacroix declared: "Constable, homme admirable, est une des gloires anglaises. Je vous en ai déjà parlé de l'impression qu'il m'avait produite au moment où je peignais le Massacre de Scio. Lui et Turner sont de véritables réformateurs. Ils sont sortis de l'ornière des paysagistes anciens. Notre école qui abonde maintenant en hommes de talent dans ce genre, a grandement profité de leur exemple." The qualities here admired by Delacroix are precisely those that Hazlitt, in his Spirit of the Age, praised in the poetry of Wordsworth. They apply equally as well to the landscapes of Constable and provide a fitting epilogue to this study of Constable's art. In 1825 Hazlitt remarked: "Seeing the path of classical and artificial poetry blocked up by the cumbrous ornaments of style and turgid commonplaces, so that nothing more could be achieved in that direction but by the most ridiculous bombast or the tamest servility, he has turned back, he has struck into the sequestered vale of humble life, sought out the Muse among sheepcotes and hamlets and endeavoured to aggrandize the trivial, and add the charm

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of novelty to the familiar. No one has shown the same imagination in raising trifles into importance. He has described all these objects in a way and with an intensity of feeling that no one else had done before him, and has given a new view or aspect of nature. He is in this sense the most original poet now living, and the one whose writings could the least be spared; for they have no substitute elsewhere."

John Constable (June 11, 1776-December 31 1837)

- 1259
1. Self -Portrait, pencil 1806, private Coll.
 2. Landscape with a stream at Menham, pen & ink, V & A, 1796
Cottage at East Bergholt, pen and ink, V & A, 1796
 3. Dedham Vale, oil on canvas, V & A, Sept. 1802
Claude: Hagar and the Angel
 4. View from the shore over the Thames or the Medway, pencil and grey wash, V&A, April 1803
A brig at anchor and other shipping in the Thames, pencil, V&A, April 1803
His Majesty's Ship Victory, water color, V&A, 1806.
Wilhelm Van de Velde: Boat Scene, Clowes Collection
 5. View in the Lake District, pencil and water color, 1806
Girtin: View of Hills and River, water color, c. 1800
View in Barrowdale, pencil and water color, V&A, oct 4, 1806
J. R. Cozens: View of Island of Elba
 6. Dedham Vale, 1811, oil on canvas, collection of Major Proby
Reubens: Sunset Landscape
 7. Barges on the Stour, with Dedham Church in the distance, c. 1811, oil on paper laid on canvas, V&A.
 8. Study of a cart and horses, with a carter and dog, Oct 1814, Oil on paper with a brown ground, V&A
Stour Valley and Dedham Village, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
 9. Boat Building near Flatford Mill, oil on canvas, V&A, 1815
 10. Weymouth Bay, oil on millboard, 1816, V&A
 11. A scene on the River Stour (The White Horse), Frick Collection, 1819.
 12. Fir Trees at Hampstead, pencil, Oct 2, 1820, V&A
 13. Watermeadows near Salisbury, oil on canvas, V&A
 14. Wivenhoe Park, National Gallery, Washington, 1816
 15. Study of sky and trees at Hampstead, 1821, oct 2, oil on paper, V&A
Study of sky and trees. Oil on paper, c. 1821, V&A
Study of Clouds, Sept 5, 1822, oil on paper, V&A

Study of Cirrus Clouds, c. 1822, oil on paper, V&A

16. First sketch of the Hay Wain, Mellon Coll, Wash.

Full-scale study of the Hay Wain, oil on canvas, c. 1821, V&A

The Hay Wain, oil on canvas, National Gallery, London.

17. Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's grounds, oil on canvas, 1823, V&A

18. A study for "A boat passing a lock" (The Lock) Detail: Man at lock. oil, Phila. Museum of Art, 1822.

A Boat Passing a Lock, Royal Academy, London

19. Brighton Beach with colliers, oil on paper, July 19, 1824

20. Full-scale study for "The Leaping Horse". oil on canvas, c. 1825, Victoria and Albert Museum.

The Leaping Horse, London, Royal Academy, 1825

21. Hadleigh Castle, 1829, oil on canvas, Tate Gallery, London.

22. Stonehenge, water color, V&A, 1836

Reubens: Landscape with a rainbow, oil on wood, Munich, mid 1630's.

Eugène Delacroix: Le Massacre de Scio

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STRUCTURAL AND STYLISTIC MANIFESTATIONS OF THE AESTHETIC
OF CLAUDE MONET IN LE VENTRE DE PARIS OF EMILE ZOLA

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1

INTRODUCTION

The literature and art of an age are, by virtue of the similar political, social and religious factors that caused their creation, often closely related. In a movement such as Romanticism the inter-relationships of the creative arts are clearly seen, but they are perhaps more difficult to perceive in artistic movements that have neither the duration nor the motive power of Romanticism. Such were the literary and artistic movements in France from the Second Empire to the end of the century. During that period every aspect of society underwent, in varying degrees, a radical change; a change, as Hauser indicates, "that was more pronounced than in all the centuries since the beginning of modern urban civilization."¹ This reorientation of society produced a subsequent literary and artistic reorientation that can clearly be seen in the literary and artistic artifacts of that period. The Second Empire, which produced the art of Courbet, Flaubert, Corot and Baudelaire, is, at the same time, the society out of which would develop the art of Zola, Degas, Renoir, Manet, Monet and Huysmans, to mention only a few. The apparent diversity of the creations of these post-Romantic artists and writers has resulted in the creation of a multitude of labels invented by literary and art historians in an attempt to offer an explanation of the art and literature created in France during the second half of the nineteenth century. These labels--Realism in literature, Realism in art, Naturalism in literature, Impressionism in art, Symbolism in literature--obscure and in many cases deny the presence of

¹Arnold Hauser, The Social History of Art Vol. 4. (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1951), p. 62.

similarities in style and technique among these post-Romantic artists and writers. This is particularly true with what has been called Naturalism in literature, as exemplified in the novels of Emile Zola, and Impressionism in art, as exemplified in the canvases of Claude Monet.²

It is the contention of this study that Zola's literary Naturalism and Monet's artistic Impressionism are not unrelated movements in the creative arts. In an attempt to demonstrate that the works of Monet and Zola are, in fact, constructed on the basis of an identical aesthetic and with similar structural and stylistic devices, the principles of art history are useful. Helmut Hatzfeld views this means of analysis "as imperative in those cases where literary texts may contain structural elements that would perhaps remain obscure without the elucidation of the arts of design."³ To approach a literary text by using the principles of art is perhaps more

² As early as 1878 Duret pointed out that Monet was the impressionist, par excellence. Subsequent critical opinion has borne out this contemporary observation. In 1943 Maurice Malingue (Claude Monet. Les Documents d'Art, Monaco, p. 11) remarked: "Quand on parle de l'Impressionnisme, le nom de Claude Monet vient immédiatement à l'esprit. C'est que pendant le cours de sa longue existence, le grand artiste fut le seul des peintres groupés sous cette désignation à poursuivre l'application des théories du mouvement jusqu'à l'extrême limite des possibilités picturales et humaines. De tous les peintres qui participèrent aux combats de l'époque héroïque, Claude Monet est donc le seul qui représente véritablement l'Impressionnisme." Similar remarks were made by William Seitz in 1960 in reference to Monet's influence on the post-Impressionists (Claude Monet. The Library of Great Painters, 1960, p. 10): "Indeed, Monet's reputation seems to have fluctuated along with that of Impressionism in general, and during the thirties and forties the direction was usually downward, for historical accounts were so often couched negatively: the achievements of Renoir, Cézanne, Van Gogh, Seurat, Gauguin were alleged to have hinged on their rejection of the formlessness of Impressionism. But seldom during those years was the opposite side of the coin pointed out: that each of the post-Impressionists had his origin in Impressionism, that what they had in common was, more than any one thing, the example of Monet."

³ Helmut Hatzfeld, Literature Through Art (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1952), p. 211.

useful when dealing with periods of history characterized by a tendency towards Realism, for it is in the plastic arts, as Hourticq explains, that this tendency, i. e. Realism, is always first expressed:

Ce sont les œuvres de la plastique qui forment le goût, fixent le jugement esthétique--qui plus que la nature établissent une norme pour nos jugements de vérité et de beauté. Cette correspondance du style d'une école et du goût d'une génération trouve sa confirmation dans les témoignages littéraires. Deux catégories de monuments nous renseignent sur les variations de l'esthétique collective, les œuvres des artistes et celles des écrivains. Il apparaît alors, avec évidence, que dans les époques d'invention pittoresque ou plastique, c'est des ateliers que partent les initiatives et non des jeux philosophiques; les formes naissent du métier et non de la pensée; créer, c'est réaliser une idée, mais c'est la main qui la cherche et quand l'esprit la reconnaît, c'est après qu'une main l'a découverte. Les littérateurs réalistes et descriptives ne peuvent fleurir que sur un public formé à l'observation des images de la nature ou de l'art par les arts figurés--alors, le lecteur retrouve dans les mots ses réminiscences visuelles.⁴

A certain chronological discrepancy is therefore often noted among the creative arts in periods of Realism. Hauser underlines this point as follows: "The most productive period of a realistic form of art is often completely past when the ramifications of the painterly stylistics and aesthetics begin to emerge in literature."⁵ Such is the case with Impressionism in literature in the nineteenth century in France.

A precise understanding of the the aesthetic and stylistic principles of Impressionism in art, principles with which Emile Zola was doubtless familiar, and which, in all probability, were fundamental in the formation of Zola's own stylistic and aesthetic principles, is,

⁴ Louis Hourticq, L'Art et la littérature (Paris: Flammarion, 1946), pp. 26-37.

⁵ Hauser, p. 880.

Zola's views began forming before "Impressionism" (a style limited to the 1870s & early 80s.)

therefore, essential in order to understand the novelistic technique of Emile Zola.⁶ For it is only by a systematic and careful analysis of the aesthetic and stylistic principles of the artistic media that a valid correlation of the fine arts in any period can be made. The conclusion of this study may show that Emile Zola, considered the most important naturalistic writer in the nineteenth century in France, utilized in the creation of his novels a technique not unlike that utilized by Claude Monet.

⁶ It is beyond the scope of this study to give a detailed account of Emile Zola's affiliations with Claude Monet, the Impressionists and their art. Sufficient documents exist which reveal that throughout the period 1865-1880 Zola maintained his enthusiasm for Impressionism, an art which he championed so ardently in the early 1860's and upon which he made impossible demands in the 1880's. During the decade in which the art of Impressionism fought the traditional jury of the Academy, Zola published four complete Salons and four reviews of major exhibitions, both independent and public, all of which acclaimed the art of Impressionism. For more information on Zola's affiliations with the artists of Impressionism and their art, the following works are recommended: 1. John Rewald, The History of Impressionism (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1961, pp. 144, 189, 362, 387, 412, 445, 534. 2. Henri Mitterand, Zola: journaliste (Paris: Colin, 1962). 3. F. W. J. Hemmings, "Zola, Manet et les impressionnistes," PMLA Sept. 1958, pp. 407-17. 4. Emile Zola, Salons (Geneva, Droz, 1959) 5. Lionello Venturi, Les Archives de l'impressionnisme II (Paris: Durand-Ruel, 1939, pp. 274-75, 76-80. 6. Jacques Lethève, Impressionnistes et Symbolistes devant la presse (Paris: Colin, 1959) pp. 35-46, 113-117.

Impressionism not yet born in 1865

TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF ARTISTIC IMPRESSIONISM

Impressionism in art as an historical phenomenon has been clearly defined. It represents the artistic effort of a relatively small group of artists in France during the last third of the nineteenth century, particularly the period between 1874-1886, the years of the first and last Impressionistic exhibitions.⁷ Yet to consider Impressionism in art solely as an historical phenomenon is, in a sense, to deny its essence. Impressionism is, at the same time, an aesthetic phenomenon, which coinciding with the historical phenomenon of Impressionism produced an eternal moment in art. In other words, the principal artists of Impressionism utilized in the creation of art the aesthetic and stylistic principles of Impressionism during the historical period generally considered as being the age of Impressionism. A writer such as Gide, for example, utilized what may be called a "classical" aesthetic in an historical period that is not generally considered by literary historians as the age of Classicism. Gide, therefore, does not represent the phenomenon of Classicism in entirety since the historical and aesthetic phenomena of Classicism do not coincide. As such, Gide's "classicism" is not pure, that is, it is not founded on the aesthetic and stylistic principles of the seventeenth century since it has been colored by the historical difference. The Impressionism of the late nineteenth century, on the other hand, represents an eternal moment in art in that the aesthetic and historical phenomena of Impressionism both coincide.

⁷ The definition of Impressionism offered in this study is derived from an examination of the principal works of Claude Monet. When the term Impressionism is used herein it refers to the Impressionism of Monet. This does not preclude the possibility that it might be valid for other artists of Impressionism. Monet, however, is our primary concern.

Fundamental to the aesthetic of Impressionism is a philosophy of movement that closely resembles that of the Greek philosopher Heraclitus, who maintained that the universe is constantly changing and that the only constant is change itself. The Heraclitian symbol of flux, fire, was interpreted by the Impressionists as a flow of water, a river, as expressed by Leibniz, into which you cannot step twice. Donald McGinn, in underlining the Leibnizian concept of flux as the basis of Impressionism, views the art of Impressionism as a type of Proustian recreation of the past:

As the river of time constantly flows on the present moment is irretrievably lost, except perhaps in memory. Thus the moment of inspiration that the artist experiences will never return, but through his art he has the power to give it a permanence that it could never actually possess--not the permanence of fact but rather the permanence of a momentary sensation forever captured in the work of art itself.⁸

Unlike Proust, however, the moment captured by the Impressionists is not a moment whose characteristics are determined by memory, but rather by an entirely perceptual or sensory experience, an "impression". The means utilized by the Impressionists to liberate themselves from the influence of memory, as W. G. Seitz has determined, were reflections:

It has been well said by W. G. Seitz that for the Impressionists, "reflections became a means of shaking off the world assembled by memory in favour of a world perceived momentarily by the senses. In reflections the artifices so important to workaday life are transformed into abstract elements in a world of pure vision."⁹

It is for this reason that W. G. Seitz has stated that Monet's The River, 1868, is Monet's first picture which reproduces the effect

⁸ Donald McGinn, Literature as a Fine Art (White Plains: Peterson, 1959), p. 303.

⁹ Phoebe Pool, Impressionism (New York: Praeger, 1967), p.86.

of a momentary glance. He states:

The River is one of the first of Monet's works that can properly be described as in impression. Its aspect denotes a wholly perceptual experience: the color areas are flat and simple, as though observed only for a moment or through half-closed eyes. Except for the figure seated on the bank, the entire foreground is a perforated screen of cool shadow behind which the glittering sky, shore and river seem suspended. The tree trunks are flat bars rather than columns, and the one at the left is broken by the spotting of sun through leaves; the foliage is a green and yellow tapestry of which the smallest unit is a brush stroke rather than an individual leaf. Objects which Monet chose to emphasize (such as the rowboat) are described with ease and precision; but to other detail (such as the clothing spread on Camille's lap) he gives little attention. Only gradually, and never positively, does one discover that the spots of color across the river and between the tree trunks are boats and human figures--as if Monet had recorded what struck his eyes without pausing to identify it. 10

This canvas, as well as the majority of those Monet would paint throughout the rest of his life, thus represent a unique moment in the perpetuum mobile. It is the triumph of the momentary over the permanent, it is the representation of a unique moment selected from a dynamic and constantly changing reality--a reality wherein chance is the principle of all being and wherein the truth of the moment invalidates all other truths. This is the lesson which Monet early learned from Boudin in Le Havre. It was Boudin who first recommended to Monet that he paint directly from nature and in so doing avoid the static and somewhat artificial world of memory. Malingue underlines this point as follows:

Boudin apporta à Monet la révélation immédiate, foudroyante de la peinture. "Tout ce qui est peint directement, et sur place, lui disait-il, a toujours une force, une puissance, une vivacité qu'on ne retrouve plus dans l'atelier. 11

¹⁰ William C. Seitz, Claude Monet (New York: Abrams, 1960), p. 78.

¹¹ Maurice Malingue, Claude Monet (Monaco: Les Documents D'Art, 1943), p. 12.

W. O. Seitz similarly underlines this point:

Quite simply, Boudin put forward Impressionism's cardinal principle, thus elevating the sketch--with the inevitable premium that it places on concentrated observation and rapid execution--to the status of a completed work of art.¹²

An early manifestation of this lesson learned from Boudin is the Déjeuner sur l'herbe, 1865-66, which, although completed in the studio because of its great size (15 by 20 feet), represents a successful attempt by Monet to produce a life-sized figure composition that would be truer to nature than those of earlier artists. The dynamism of this sunlit forest landscape demonstrates clearly that Monet, unlike Manet, successfully integrated the figures with the landscape. This is true primarily because of the fact that Monet executed studies for the final work not in the studio, but rather sur place. Other canvases, which clearly give evidence of the fact they were painted in front of the motif represented, from Monet's early period are Women in the Garden, 1866-67, The Seine at Bougival, 1869 and On The Beach, Trouville, 1870. Seitz, in fact, has determined that the 1870 painting The Beach, Trouville has particles of sand in the paint itself. Boudin, then, not only helped Monet to liberate himself from the world of memory, but also started what Monet himself would call in 1891 his "search of the impossible,"¹³ the momentary presentation of reality.

A preoccupation with the momentary as opposed to the permanent, the fundamental aesthetic principle of Impressionism, has been underlined by Hauser as the basic experience of the nineteenth century.¹⁴

¹² Seitz, *sup.*, 12.

¹³ Seitz, p. 36.

¹⁴ Hauser, p. 925.

Emile Zola, perhaps the most influential critic of the art of Impressionism, similarly recognized the importance of the momentary in the art of Impressionism. He stated: "On doit saisir la nature dans l'impressionnisme d'une minute. Il faut fixer à jamais cette minute sur la toile."¹⁵

The manner utilized by the impressionists to represent in a work of art a fleeting moment chosen from the perpetuum of time was dictated primarily by the historical situation in France following the establishment of the Second Empire, the "moment" in Taine's conception of the term. It was an age during which an emphasis was beginning to be placed, in spite of the oppressive propagandistic machinery of the Empire, on the simple and the ordinary, and not on the monumental and the exceptional. With the establishment of the Third Republic, the monumental and the exceptional would be banished from art almost completely. These societal reorientations are clearly reflected in the republican and bourgeois-directed art of Impressionism. One need only compare the deliberately historical and aristocracy-directed Sword Dance of Gérôme and Fantin-Latour's Julia, Daughter of Augustus, Returning from a Night's Debauche with the unpretentious canvases of the impressionists (The following paintings of Monet, for example: Argenteuil Bridge, 1874; Duck Pond, 1873; Impression, Fog, 1872; Apple Trees in Bloom, 1878; The Village Street, Vétheuil, 1878; Poplars on the Epte, 1890) to realize the almost banal quality of the subjects chosen by the impressionistic artists. The contemporary

¹⁵ Emile Zola, "Le Naturalisme au Salon" Le Voltaire, June 18-22, 1880. Reported by Lionello Venturi, Les Archives de l'impressionnisme. Vol. II (Paris: Durand-Ruel, 1939), p. 279.

scene was their only subject matter. A letter from Bazille to his parents in 1866 clearly demonstrates the impressionists' belief that only empirical reality is a fit subject for art:

I have tried to paint as well as I can the simplest possible subjects. In my opinion the subject matters little provided that what I do is interesting as painting. I have chosen to paint our own age because this is what I understand the best, because it is more alive, and because I am painting for living people. So, of course, my pictures will be rejected.¹⁶

Developping concurrently with a preoccupation with the ordinary was an age of technology and science which would significantly transform what had formerly been primarily cultural centers into industrial cities in our modern sense of the term. The city would become a huge, sprawling organism inhabited by the masses of humanity, the lower bourgeoisie--men who were becoming fully cognizant of their role in a huge and intricate urban machine. The cities, as Hauser indicates, form the soil in which the new art of Impressionism is rooted:

But even urban scenes for out number urban motifs
Impressionism is an urban art and not only because it discovers the landscape quality of the city and brings painting back from the country to the town, but because it sees the world through the eyes of the townsmen who reacts to external impressions with the overstrained nerves of a modern technical man. It is an urban style, for it describes the changeability, the nervous rhythm, the sudden, sharp, but always ephemeral impression of city life.¹⁷

Monet's series of canvases of the Saint-Lazare railroad station in Paris, painted during the winter of 1876-77, clearly illustrates the importance of urban motifs in his art, particularly in the period before 1880, as well as what can be called Monet's urban style. Monet's skill in depicting different atmospheric conditions and times of day by means of rapid brush strokes, executed in front of the motif, is underlined by Mount as follows:

¹⁶ Pool, p. 92.

¹⁷ Hauser, p. 871.

Thin slabs of color flowed smoothly from his sable brushes, coming together loosely on the canvas between a buff-toned webbing of bare cloth. At times the paint surface, hammered at by a steady crescendo of strokes, linked up into a unified globulated whole, achieving a new and varied beauty of shimmering, crystalline texture. The often disjointed sketcher's technique seen at Argenteuil showed signs of developping further into a heavily daubed, floating disphanous surface, weaving a kind of descriptive orchestral tapestry that evoked place and atmosphere, light and shadow, so vividly that each scene (of the Gare Saint-Lazare series) was presented to the mind's eye in all its subtle detail.¹⁸

This series of canvases of the Gare Saint-Lazare, as well as the majority of those executed by Monet after 1866, represent, as Hauser has shown, the two basic feelings which life in an urban and suburban environment produces, the feeling of being alone and unobserved on the one hand, and the impression of roaring traffic, incessant movement and constant variety on the other--a feeling not unlike that expressed by Baudelaire in that section of Les Fleurs du Mal entitled "Tableaux parisiens", nor unlike the sensation expressed by Apollinaire in the cubist poem "Zone." Such an environment leads to what Hauser has called "a fundamentally passive outlook on life,"¹⁹ that is, a world view founded on the realization that the world of experience is not permanent. The artist of Impressionism is then a spectator, an observer of a dynamic world who willingly submits to the chronological structure of empirical reality; he is non-involved, receptive and, in some respects, contemplative.

From such a standpoint the artists of Impressionism understood or perhaps saw more clearly the myriad effects of the developping age of technology and science that they witnessed around them. Monet, in fact, through his artistic vision, not only independently confirmed,

¹⁸ Charles Merrill Mount, Monet (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), p. 279.

¹⁹ Hauser, p. 873.

but unknowingly illustrated the optical and chromatic laws arrived at by Helmholtz and Chevreul. Mauclair states:

Claude Monet, continuant Claude Lorrain et Turner, aura et le mérite et l'originalité d'ouvrir à la peinture une route nouvelle, en tirant de l'étude des lois de la lumière des constatations scientifiques. Son oeuvre est une magnifique vérification des découvertes faites en optique par Helmholtz et par Chevreul. Elle est né spontanément de la vision de l'artiste, et elle se trouve être une démonstration rigoureuse de principes que le peintre ne s'est probablement jamais soucié de connaître. Par la puissance de ses facultés, l'artiste s'est trouvé rejoindre la science. Son oeuvre est donc, non seulement la base elle-même du mouvement impressioniste proprement dit, mais encore de tout ce qui l'a suivi et le suivra dans l'étude des lois dites chromatiques. ²⁰

These optical and chromatic laws, the cardinal principles of the technique of Impressionism, were fully illustrated by Monet and Renoir in the late summer of 1869 when they painted near the Seine at Bougival. It was there that Monet and Renoir made their discovery that the notions of form and color are inseparable. Camille Mauclair explains this point as follows:

Dans la nature, aucune couleur n'existe par elle-même. La coloration des objets est une pure illusion. La seule source créatrice des couleurs est la lumière solaire qui enveloppe toutes choses et les révèle, selon les heures, avec d'innombrables modifications. Le mystère de la matière nous échappe, nous ignorons à quel moment exact la réalité se sépare de l'irréalité. Tout ce que nous savons, c'est que notre vision a pris l'habitude de discerner dans l'univers deux notions, la forme et la couleur, mais ces deux notions sont inséparables. Ce n'est que artificiellement que nous distinguons entre le dessin et la coloration; dans la nature ils ne se distinguent pas. La lumière révèle les formes, et se jouant sur les différents états de la matière, leur donne des colorations dissemblables. Si la lumière disparaît, formes et couleurs s'évanouissent ensemble. Nous ne voyons que des couleurs, tout à une couleur, et c'est par la perception des diverses couleurs frappant nos yeux que nous concevons les formes, c'est-à-dire les limitations de ces couleurs. . . La couleur est donc génératrice du dessin. ²¹

²⁰ Camille Mauclair, Les maîtres de l'impressionnisme (Paris: Librairie Ollendorff, 1903), p. 56.

²¹ Mauclair, pp. 22-23.

A realization that the notions of form and color are inseparable and that they are both determined entirely by light must necessarily have important consequences in art. They can be summarized as follows:

1. ATMOSPHERE, NOT "LOCAL COLOR", IS THE REAL SUBJECT OF A PAINTING.

Camille Mauclair explains this point in the following manner:

Ce qu'on appelait jadis le "ton local" est une erreur: une feuille n'est pas verte, un tronc d'arbre n'est pas brun, et selon les heures, le vert de la feuille et le brun de l'arbre se modifient. Ce qu'il faut donc étudier sur ces objets, si l'on veut rappeler leur couleur à qui regarde un tableau, c'est la composition de l'atmosphère qui s'interpose entre eux et le regard. L'atmosphère est le sujet réel du tableau, tout ce qui y est représenté n'existe qu'à travers elle. ²²

Monet's Westminster Bridge, 1871, is a splendid example of a painted atmosphere. Unlike the Beach at Sainte-Adresse, 1867, this scene of the Thames is permeated by an atmosphere which precludes the painting of intellectually perceived or abstract color and form. Seitz describes the atmospheric quality of this canvas as follows:

This evocative riverscape (Westminster Bridge, 1871) is one of the finest examples of Monet's work during his wartime stay in England. . . In sharp contrast to the Dutch canvases of the same year, its color scheme is one of atmospheric unity rather than opposition. Every square inch of surface is permeated by the tremulous mist--at once gold, pink, green, and violet--that transforms the stone of the distant buildings into delicate patterns of warm or cold blue and the bridge into a soft, rhythmic extension of the horizontals of the wharf. ²³

II. SHADOWS ARE COLORED.

Mauclair offers the following explanation:

L'ombre n'est pas une absence de lumière, mais une lumière d'une autre qualité et d'une autre valeur. L'ombre n'est pas un endroit du paysage où la lumière cesse, mais où elle est subordonnée à une lumière qui nous paraît plus intense. Dans l'ombre vibrent à une vitesse différente les

²² Mauclair, p. 24.

²³ Seitz, p. 88.

rayons du spectre. La peinture donc, au lieu de représenter l'ombre avec des tons tout faits, dérivés du bitume et du noir, devra rechercher là, comme dans les parties claires, le jeu des atomes de la lumière solaire. ²⁴

Monet's skill in the painting of colored shadows is well illustrated in his riverscapes (The Seine at Bougival, 1869; La Grenouillère, 1869; The Bridge at Argenteuil, 1874) and in his snowscapes (The Magpie, 1867-70; Snow Effect at Vétheuil, 1878). It was through their study of the effects of sunlight on snow and water, as Rouart has determined, that taught the impressionists that shadows were colored. He states: "Their study of the effects of sunlight on snow (paralleling their study of sunlight on water) led them to discover, empirically, the fact that shadows too are charged with color. The whiteness of the new-fallen snow provided an ideal ground for subtle variations of color." ²⁵ Seitz aptly describes the shadows in The Magpie, 1867-70, as follows: "Frigid sunlight falling on the powdery drift in the palest of yellows, pinks, and violets delineates its surface in geometric shadows that are immaculate in their blueness and transparency." ²⁶

III. COLORS ARE MODIFIED BY REFRACTION.

Again, it is Camille Mauclair who offers an explanation of this new conception of color arrived at by Monet and Renoir while painting together at Bougival:

Les couleurs dans l'ombre se modifient par la réfraction. O'est-à-dire que, par exemple, dans un tableau représentant un intérieur, la source de lumière (une fenêtre) peut n'être pas indiquée: la lumière circulant dans le tableau sera donc

²⁴ Mauclair, p. 25.

²⁵ Denis Rouart, Claude Monet (Paris: Skira, 1958), p. 41.

²⁶ Seitz, p. 76.

composée des reflets des rayons dont on ne voit pas la source, et tous les objets, étant des miroirs où ces reflets viennent se heurter, s'influenceront mutuellement de ces choos. Leurs couleurs influenceront les unes sur les autres, même si leurs surfaces sont ternes. Un grès rouge posé sur un tapis bleu pretextera un échange très subtil, mais absolument mathématique, entre ce bleu et ce rouge, et cet échange des ondes lumineuses créera entre les deux couleurs une zone de reflets composés de l'une et d'autre. Ces reflets composites constitueront une gamme de tonalités complémentaires des deux principales. Ces couleurs complémentaires sont possibles à évaluer mathématiquement en optique. ²⁷

The beginnings of Monet's understanding of this impressionistic technique can be seen rather early in his career. As early as 1866-67 it can be seen illustrated in Women in the Garden, wherein the face of the seated figure is, as Seitz has determined, "illuminated from below by a blue reflection from her white gown." ²⁸ That is to say, the flesh tones of the face of the seated figure assume, in places, a bluish tonality in that they are within the chromatic milieu of the blue reflection on the white gown. A more complete illustration of the principle of refracted color is found in La Grenouillère, 1869, and The Bridge at Argenteuil, 1874. In the former, the juxtaposition of separate strokes of unblended colors utilized by Monet to represent the water, particularly in the immediate foreground, results in a dynamic field of sparkling color. The application of separate strokes of varying shades of yellow, blue and green produces a field of color composed of these colors as well as their complementaries. Monet has thereby created a sensation of movement and quivering light. The same effect is produced in The Bridge at Argenteuil, 1874. The broken strokes of pure color utilized in the representation of the water

²⁷ Mauclair, p. 25.

²⁸ Seitz, p. 70.

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A keener up-to-date study is
Jean Leymarie's (1955)

produce an altogether momentary presentation of reality, that is to say, an impression. His quality of Monet's art was early recognized by Emile Zola, who in the late 1860's remarked:

Il est si facile, si tentant de faire de la jolie couleur avec de l'eau, du ciel, et du soleil, qu'on doit remercier le peintre qui consent à se priver d'un succès certain en peignant les vagues telles qu'il les a vues... Tout le monde connaît ce peintre officiel de marines qui ne peut peindre une vague sans en tirer un feu d'artifice. Vous rappelez-vous ces triomphants coups de soleil changeant la mer en gélée de groseille, ces vaisseaux empanachés par les feux de Bengale d'un astre de féerie? Hélas! Claude Monet n'a pas de ces gentillesse-là! ²⁹

All of the above consequences which Monet and Renoir derived from the realization that the notions of form and color are inseparable and that they are both determined entirely by light are manifested in the canvases created by Monet and Renoir in the late summer of 1869. It is for this reason that Phyllis Pool has called the year 1869 one of the most significant years in the history of Impressionism. She states:

Although one cannot say definitely that the Impressionist movement was launched in any particular year, since its genesis was inevitably gradual, the year 1869, during which Renoir and Monet were painting together at Bougival, may, perhaps, be called the most decisive... Although five years were to pass before the first Impressionist exhibition was held and the movement acquired its name, in fact, Impressionism was already born. ³⁰

The specific nature of the moments captured by Monet and Renoir in their canvases by means of their impressionistic technique is determined wholly by their conception of empirical reality. Their art corresponds to the aesthetic experience described by Kant, wherein "pleasure is related to the simple apprehension of the form of an object without referring this apprehension to a certain knowledge,

²⁹ Daniel Wildenstein, Monet: Impressions (Lausanne: International Art Book, no date), p. 7.

³⁰ Pool, pp. 54-56.

the representation does not refer to the object but only to the subject." ³¹ Inherent in this definition of the aesthetic experience described by Kant are two of the fundamental characteristics of the impressionistic moment--an anti-intellectual ideal and a search for beauty. Rewald's remarks in reference to the ten views of the Gare Saint-Lazare, 1876-77, are, in this connection, very revealing:

Duranty might have hailed in these works the conquest of one of the most typical scenes of modern life--a scene never before treated by artists--had it not been that Monet's approach was devoid of any social consciousness. He found in the railroad station a pretext rather than an end in itself; he discovered and probed the pictorial aspects of machinery but did not comment upon its ugliness or usefulness or beauty, nor upon its relationship to man. ³²

Impressionism is, then, unlike religious art, neither didactic nor utilitarian. As such the art of Impressionism represents an enthusiastic search for beauty. This beauty, the impressionists believed, was to be found in the transitory contemporary scene: "Ils recherchent dans l'apparence mobile une éternité. Elle est cachée partout cette beauté qu'ils poursuivent et ils sont les premiers à la découvrir." ³³ In so doing they discovered, as Venturi states, "a new form of beauty where it had not been believed that beauty existed."³⁴ The immediate satisfaction they experienced in dealing with such a fluid and dynamic reality resulted in their finding, as Venturi explains, "a new form of appearance without pretending that their form of appearance was the form of reality."³⁵ As artists espousing an anti-intellectual

³¹ Oscar Reutersvard, "The Accentuated Brush Stroke of the Impressionists," Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism (Baltimore: Waverly Press, March 1952), p. 277.

³² Rewald, p. 379.

³³ Ruth Moser, L'Impressionnisme français (Genève: Droz, 1952), p. 275.

³⁴ Lionello Venturi, Art Criticism Now (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1941), p. 111.

³⁵ Venturi, p. 112.

ideal, the attainment of beauty was their only preoccupation. They found, therefore, in empirical reality, unlimited subject matter. This is true in that the true subject of their paintings is light. This point is substantiated by Mauclair as follows:

La lumière est l'unique sujet du tableau: l'intérêt des objets est secondaire. La peinture ainsi comprise devient un art absolument optique, une recherche d'harmonies, une sorte de poème naturel tout à fait distinct de l'expression du style, du dessin qui ont été les buts capitaux de la peinture précédente et il faut presque inventer un autre nom pour cet art spécial, qui, tout en étant pleinement pictural, se rapproche autant de la musique qu'il s'éloigne de la littérature.³⁶

The same motif could then be painted repeatedly since at no two moments of its existence would it be bathed in an identical light and atmosphere. Monet's series of paintings of the same motif (The Facade of the Rouen Cathedral, The Houses of Parliament, The Haystacks near Giverny, The Poplars on the Epte, Venice, and The Water Lilies)^{Charing Cross Bridge, Waterloo Bridge}, which Seitz defines as "sequential cycles of light, weather or season,"³⁷ brilliantly exemplify Monet's relentless pursuit of the pagentry of light. It is for this reason that Pool has referred to Monet's series as "the very essence of Impressionism."³⁸ Seitz concurs when he states: "Monet was more of an impressionist in 1900 on the Thames than he was in Argenteuil. As his feverish scramble for the appropriate canvas proves, he was not representing a process of change but painting against time with the goal of eternalizing the instant."³⁹ The instants which Monet sought to eternalize were, as his paintings of the Saint-Lazare railroad station demonstrate, presented exclusively for their pictorial quality and without any didactic intentions. Monet's

³⁶ Mauclair, p. 28.

³⁷ William Seitz, Claude Monet: Seasons and Moments (New York: Museum of Modern Art, March 1960), p. 11.

³⁸ Pool, p. 227.

³⁹ Seitz, Claude Monet: Seasons and Moments, p. 34.

canvases were thus criticized by Emile Zola as naive and incomplete. In an article in Le Voltaire in June 1880 Zola, after almost ten years silence with reference to the art of Impressionism, remarked:

Le grand malheur c'est que pas un artiste de ce groupe n'a réalisé puissamment et définitivement la formule nouvelle qu'ils apportent tous épaisse dans leurs oeuvres. La formule est là, divisée à l'infini; mais nulle part dans aucun d'eux on ne la trouve appliquée par un maître. On peut leur reprocher leur impuissances personnelles, ils n'en sont pas moins les véritables ouvriers du siècle. Ils ont bien des trous, ils lâchent trop souvent leur facture, ils se montrent incomplets et impuissants; il leur suffit de travailler au naturalisme contemporain pour se mettre à la tête d'un mouvement et pour jouer un rôle considérable dans notre école de peinture. ⁴⁰

Zola, in praising their technique, criticized the reality that the impressionists portrayed as incomplete and unfinished. Yet from the impressionists' point of view their canvases were finished; for they had changed traditional form in order to find a form adopted to their coloring. They arrived at a simultaneous vision of space and color and in order to eternalize that vision they elevated what had formerly been considered as sketches to completed works of art. It was this quality of incompleteness that caused their immense popularity; ironically, it was at the same time the cause of their subsequent failure. For Impressionism failed as Zola had predicted it would:

Ce sont tous des précurseurs, l'homme de génie n'est pas né. On voit bien ce qu'il veulent, on leur donne raison, mais on cherche en vain le chef-d'oeuvre qui doit imposer la formule et faire combler toutes les têtes. Voilà pourquoi la lutte des impressionnistes n'est pas encore abouti; ils restent inférieurs à l'oeuvre qu'ils tentent; ils bégayent sans pouvoir trouver le mot... Il ne reste plus si l'on veut avancer encore qu'à se remettre à l'étude des réalités et à tâcher à les voir dans des conditions de vérité plus grandes. Tous leurs efforts doivent tendre à rendre leurs oeuvres

⁴⁰ Reported in Lionello Venturi, Les Archives de l'impressionisme, p. 280.

plus fortes, plus vivantes en donnant l'impression complète des figures et des milieux.⁴¹

Yet Impressionism could not by its very definition fulfill the requirements imposed by Zola, for he had imposed on their art demands that were totally foreign to their aesthetic. Zola, imbued with the crusading zeal of a reformer, insisted that art be related to a concept of history; the impressionists, on the other hand, painted, as Werner Hofman⁴² aptly states, the eternal world of a dream:

The seventies were not a happy time for France; the political upheaval had left behind a legacy of discomfort, doubt, and pessimism. The country's economic recovery was slow. The people's *joie de vivre* seemed to be clouded over, if not crushed. Nothing of all this is to be seen in the work of the impressionists. The war and its consequences seem to have left them untouched. This fact is well worth noting, all the more so since privately these artists were by no means lacking in patriotism. Everything that was confused, or at war with its surroundings, darkly adventurous or grossly sensual, everything that was in a bad sense "exciting" was, as Stifter has pointed out, excluded from their art. The war and history in general had as little place in it as had death, disease or natural catastrophes... They painted a world that had recovered its kindness and joy, but it was the world of a dream.⁴²

Unloading Coal, 1872, seems, at first glance, to be then the antithesis of Monet's Impressionism. Yet, as Seitz has determined, it is typically impressionistic:

Les déchargeurs de charbon is unique in its depiction of labor. Such a theme could be expected from Pissarro or the socially conscious Neo-Impressionist Maximilian Luce, but not for Monet, who, though he held certain controversial social views, devoted his art to entirely aesthetic and naturalistic ends. Nevertheless, the heavy coal barges, the regimented files of stevedores, the overcast sky, and the smoking factory chimneys, resemble the industrialized Argenteuil of today more than the smiling suburb that Monet customarily portrayed; yet, taken in context, it would appear that aesthetic rather than sociological concerns explain even this exceptional work. It relates itself to two interlaced threads of Monet's development: the first, climaxed by the Thames and Venice scenes, in his predisposition to strong horizontals and verticals; the

⁴¹ P. W. J. Hemmings, Zola (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 416.

⁴² Werner Hofman, Art in the Nineteenth Century, p. 317.

second, in his attraction to Japanese design... The scene is enacted, moreover, before a subtle and wonderfully atmospheric river scene. It is color and rhythmic spacing rather than a social message that is Monet's true subject.⁴³

For Emile Zola, then, as well as for the bourgeoisie, Impressionism had failed. Impressionism, the artistic symbol of the rise of a class to human consciousness, was, in the end, denied existence and rejected by the very group which had encouraged its creation, the bourgeoisie. It is one of the ironies of history that Emile Zola, considered the greatest exponent of literary Naturalism in France in the nineteenth century, unconsciously utilized in the composition of his novelistic series Les Rougon-Macquart the very structural and stylistic principles of the art whose aestheticism he so vehemently attacked in 1880. An examination of Le Ventre de Paris of Emile Zola, both as a naturalistic novel and as an impressionistic novel will verify this point.

⁴³ Seitz, p. 94.

LE VENTRE DE PARIS: A NATURALISTIC NOVEL

Le Ventre de Paris, published in 1873, two years after La Fortune des Rougon and La Curée, is an early yet complete expression of the mature naturalistic thesis of Emile Zola. Fundamental to this thesis, as is well known, is the Traité de l'hérédité naturelle of Prosper Lucas. This treatise provided Zola with "une carte d'identité héréditaire d'une famille," the Rougon-Macquart, living under the Second Empire; a family, which, it would appear, is united only in the sense that they all share a common ancestry. Proof of the disintegration of Zola's novelistic family is seen in the fact that in each of the novels, with the exception of the first of the series, La Fortune des Rougon, which serves as a type of prologue wherein the main actors, are introduced before the main action begins, and the last, Le Docteur Pascal, which serves as an epilogue to the series, Zola treats as main characters only one or two members of the Rougon-Macquart family. In Le Ventre de Paris, wherein heredity appears to be the only link tying the novel to the others in the series, Zola imagines Claude Lantier as a youth between the ages of sixteen and nineteen. He would later appear as the hero of L'Oeuvre and as a seven year old boy in L'Assommoir. In Le Ventre de Paris, Claude Lantier is an artist, the son of Gervaise Macquart and Auguste Lantier, who, living in the area near the central markets of Paris in order to paint "des vastes natures mortes," encounters Florent, a republican wrongfully deported after the coup d'état of 1851. Florent has clandestinely returned to Paris, where, during his exile, his half-brother Quenu, (the husband of Lisa Macquart, who is the aunt of Claude Lantier and daughter of the hero of La Fortune des Rougon), has been growing steadily richer and at the same time fatter as the Empire prospers.

Florent, unable to adjust his temperament to the atmosphere of satiety created by the Second Empire, begins a somewhat amateurish conspiracy to overthrow the government, is denounced by the inhabitants of the quartier des Halles, including his sister-in-law, Lisa Quenu, and is deported once again. Le Ventre de Paris is the story of Florent, yet he is a member of the Rougon-Macquart family only by marriage, that is he is Lisa Quenu's brother-in-law. Nevertheless, Florent is treated by the author as though he were a direct descendant of the Rougon-Macquart family. He is treated as such in that his actions throughout the novel, when developed by Zola, a novelist who is also a scientist, are reduced to a limited number of fixed laws, just as the phenomena of the physical sciences are reduced to fixed laws.

This deterministic concept, extracted by Zola from the writings of Taine, is seen illustrated very early in Le Ventre de Paris. Florent, having been extracted by Madame François from the gutter wherein he lay, is described as "un homme vautré tout de son long... Il paraissait d'une longueur extraordinaire, maigre comme une branche sèche."⁴⁴ This early appearance of the word "maigre" is reinforced by the description of Florent lying on his stomach in Madame François' cart of carrots and turnips:

La faim s'était réveillée, intolérable, atroce. Ses membres dormaient; il ne sentait en lui que son estomac, tordu, tendu, aillé, comme un fer rouge. L'odeur fraîche des légumes dans lesquels il était enfoncé, cette senteur pénétrante des carottes, le troublaient jusqu'à l'évanouissement. (10)

To complete the initial presentation of Florent, it is remarked that he notices the lights of Paris on the horizon, lights "qui l'appelaient, qui l'attendaient." (11) "Puis Florent, les yeux sur l'immense

⁴⁴ Emile Zola, Oeuvres Complètes Vol IV Le Ventre de Paris. Paris: Fasquelle, 1927), p. 7. Hereafter all page references to Le Ventre de Paris will be based on this edition and indicated in parentheses after the quotation.

lueur de Paris, songeait à cette heure à cette histoire qu'il cachait" (11). Florent, thin and starving, Florent the "maigre", is thus returning to a Paris of hedonistic satiety, Paris of the Second Empire, and his political ambitions are again reawakened: "Maintenant il lui fallait monter, atteindre Paris tout en haut." (11).

The complete futility of Florent's return to Paris to attempt again what he had failed to do before he was exiled is stated already in the opening pages of the novel when it is remarked: "Jamais il n'arriverait à ce sommet, couronné de ces lumières." (11) Yet Florent will pursue such a futile dream throughout the novel, until he again is deported for attempting to overthrow the Empire. His hunger had caused him to recreate in his mind the agony of the exile and perhaps more strongly convince him to attempt what he had failed to do seven years earlier:

Non la faim ne l'avait plus quittée. Il fouillait ses souvenirs, ne se rappelait pas une heure de plénitude. Il était devenu sec, l'estomac rétréci, la peau collée aux os. Et il retrouvait Paris, gras, superbe, débordant de nourriture au fond des ténèbres; il y rentrait sur un lit de légumes, il y roulait, dans un inconnu de mangeailles. (17)

An antithesis is then immediately established between the ill-fated attempt of the "maigre" and the success of the "gras." This antithesis, fundamental to the entire novel, is localized by Florent as not all of Paris but only one section Les Halles:

Il revoyait la ville gourmande qu'il avait laissée par cette lointaine nuit de janvier, et il lui semblait que cela avait grandi, s'était épanoui dans cette énormité des Halles, dont il commençait à entendre le souffle colossal, épais encore d'indigestion de la veille. (17)

Everything about Les Halles seemed to Florent to have assumed, in complete antithesis to himself, an air of fatness and satiety. When he sees his sister-in-law, Lisa Quenu, on the threshold of her

"charcuterie" sunning herself in the morning light, it is remarked:

Elle mettait un bonheur de plus, une plentitude solide au milieu de toutes ces gaietés grasses. C'était une belle femme; elle tenait la largeur de la porte, point trop grasse pourtant, forte de la gorge, dans la maturité de la trentaine. Sa chair, paisible, avait cette blancheur transparente, cette peau fine et rosée des personnes qui vivent d'ordinaire dans les graisses et les viandes crues. (17)

Even Lisa's daughter and her cat have assumed a certain fatness:

C'était une superbe enfant de cinq ans, ayant une grosse figure ronde, d'une grande ressemblance avec la belle charcutière. Elle tenait entre ces bras une énorme chatte jaune... (17)

As the first chapter closes, the battle scene is fully set-- the war between the rich and the poor, the fat and the thin, between the supporters of the Empire and the supporters of the Republic. The entire Quenu family "suivent la santé; ils étaient superbes, carrés, luisants; ils le (Florent) regardaient avec l'étonnement de gens très gras pris d'une vague inquiétude en face d'un maigre. Et le chat lui-même, dont la peau pétait la graisse, arrondissait ses yeux jaunes, l'examinant d'un air défiant." (66) It is a battle between the fat and the thin, a battle which permeates every aspect of the novel-- from the description of the Quartier des Halles and its inhabitants to the air and light that flood the quarter at mid-day. It is a battle which forms the underlying antithetical structure of the novel and which, as was foretold in the opening pages, will in the end only strengthen the position of the already fat bourgeoisie. Victory is conceded by Claude Lantier, "un maigre", as the novel closes:

Il injurait les Gras, il disait que les Gras avaient vaincu. Autour de lui il ne voyait plus que des gras, s'arrondissant, crevant de santé, saluant un nouveau jour de belle indigestion. (500).

It is a battle won by the fat, a group represented most strikingly by Lisa Quenu, whose principal preoccupation is to live a comfortable and honest life. Lisa is presented in the novel as the oldest daughter

of the Macquart family of Plassans whose primary beliefs were that

tout le monde doit travailler pour manger, que chacun est chargé de son propre bonheur, qu'on fait le mal en encourageant la paresse; enfin, que, s'il y a des malheureux, c'est tant pis pour les fainéants. (81)

As such she represents a typical member of the Macquart family:

Elle n'était qu'une Macquart rangée, raisonnable, logique, avec ses besoins de bien être, ayant compris que la meilleure méthode de s'endormir le soir dans une tiédeur heureuse est encore de se faire soi-même un lit de béatitude. (81)

Such is her plan of action throughout the entire novel:

Elle donnait à cette couche moelleuse toutes ses heures, toutes ses pensées. Dès l'âge de six ans elle consentait à rester bien sage sur sa petite chaise, la journée entière, à condition qu'on la récompenserait d'un gâteau le soir. (81)

It is in the defense of her explicitly stated goals that she ultimately asks Florent to take his meals elsewhere, for fear of endangering her position. It is likewise in fear of having her husband involved directly in the conspiracy of Florent and his friends that she runs to the police station. It is a desire that permeates every action of Lisa throughout the novel, a pursuit that is as tireless and all-encompassing as is the ill-fated pursuit of an ideal for which Florent eventually sacrifices himself. In both cases they are pursuits dictated by the forces of heredity, a heredity that determined their every move, reaction and thought.

With this given set of characters, Zola has created a novel by placing them in a specific historical situation, the Second Empire, characterized by Hemmings as an "eighteen year long orgy executed by ravening beasts." ⁴⁵ Hemmings further remarks:

The economic historian may talk of the great material prosperity of the era, of booming trade, of rising incomes and the steady accumulation of capital wealth. Zola saw it as a vast

⁴⁵ Hemmings, Zola, p. 77.

champing of tireless jaws, a stuffing of infinitely capacious bellies, a disgusting and mannerless blow-out, a generation of satisfied tradespeople waxing fatter and fatter on an inexhaustible supply of carbohydrates, as cooped and mindless battery hens.⁴⁶

Zola, in order to complete the illustration of Taine's philosophy, needs only to place these people living under the Second Empire in a specific geographical situation. Such a framework is provided by Les Halles. Only once in the novel does the action move outside the area of the central markets--when Claude Lantier and Florent accompany Madame François to her home outside the city of Paris. Even then the action takes place primarily in her market garden, referred to by Hemmings as a "type of alimentary canal through which food is injected into the belly of Paris--the market itself."⁴⁷

Having then defined the "race" and the "moment", Zola situates his characters living under the Second Empire in a specific milieu. The importance of the milieu is underlined by Zola as follows:

Le dosage des tares et des caractéristiques médico-sociales admis, les personnages sont nécessairement définis. Mais si l'élément psychologique impose ses lois, certaines modifications peuvent se présenter sous l'influence du milieu.⁴⁸

The milieu of Le Ventre de Paris is one innondated with the fundamental antithetical situation that separates the characters into two distinct groups; yet in presenting the milieu, Zola has shown, in an attempt to make the futility of Florent's actions more clear, only the aspects of the milieu that could be considered as "gras". For it is a world inhabited by the fat, a world which in fact resembles its inhabitants in every respect. The world of the thin is not seen. A certain

⁴⁶ Hemmings, p. 77.

⁴⁷ Hemmings, p. 101.

⁴⁸ J-H Bornecque, Réalisme et Naturalisme (Paris:Hachette, 1958), p. 56.

fatness and satiety is prevalent even in the air that circulates in the Quartier des Halles:

Elle (Lisa) avait soigneusement écarté toutes les causes possibles de trouble, laissant couler les journées au milieu de cet air gras, de cette prospérité alourdie. (93)

The importance that Zola gave to environment, "le milieu qui complète et détermine l'homme", as Hemmings has shown, hampered Zola's treatment of Florent, the first intellectual to appear in Les Rougon Macquart, a republican full of idealism who refused to succumb to the forces of need and accept the position as market inspector. Yet he gives in at Lisa's insistence. He changes his mind, as Hemmings states, "not by the soundness of Lisa's views but by her radiant good health and the smell of the black pudding cooking:" 49

Florent était comme pénétré par cette odeur à la cuisine qui le nourrissait de toute la nourriture dont l'air était chargé; il glissait à la lâcheté heureuse de cette digestion continue du milieu gras où il vivait depuis quinze jours... Il se sentait si alangui par cette soirée claire et calme, par les parfums du boudin et du saindoux, par cette grosse Pauline endormie sur ses genoux, qu'il se surprit à vouloir passé d'autres soirées semblables, des soirées sans fin, qui l'engraisseraient... Non, c'est trop bête, à la fin... J'accepte. Dites à Gavard que j'accepte. (162-63).

His active participation in the world of the fat, however, begins to become oppressive for him:

Il souffrait de ce milieu grossier dont les gestes semblaient avoir pris de l'odeur. (222)

His decision to attempt to again overthrow the Empire is hastened by the milieu in which he finds himself surrounded:

Les Halles géantes, les nourritures débordantes et fortes, avaient hâté la crise. Elles lui semblaient la bête satisfaite et digérante. Elle mettaient autour de lui des gorges énormes, des reins monstrueux, des faces rondes, comme de continuels arguments contre sa maigreur de martyr; alors il se sentit les poings serrés prêt à la lutte, plus irrités par la pensée de son exil qu'il ne l'était en rentrant en France. La haine le reprit toute entière. (226)

49 Hemmings, p. 112.

The milieu of Le Ventre de Paris in the end triumphs. It triumphs for it expels from its presence the intruder, "le maigre," who threatened its very existence. Claude Lantier, walking through the streets near the central markets the day after Florent had again been deported, notices a certain air of happiness in the markets:

Il sentait un reveil de gaieté dans les grandes Halles sonores. C'était comme une joie de guérison, un tapage plus haut de gens soulagés, enfin, d'un poids qui leur gênait l'estomac. (499).

Not only are characters presented as strongly affected by their environment, but they at times are completely inseparable from the milieu surrounding them. Mlle. Saget, having triumphantly extracted the preciously guarded information about Florent's past from Lisa's daughter, runs to tell La Sarriette and Madame Lecœur. In the following scene, she takes on completely the characteristics of the milieu, that is, a cheese booth in the central markets:

Elle restait debout, se sauvant, dans le bouquet final des fromages. Tous à cette heure donnaient à la fois. C'était une cacophonie de souffles inflects, depuis les lourdeurs molles des patés cuites, du gruyère et du hollande, jusqu'aux pointes alcalines de l'olivet... Cela s'épandait, se soutenait, au milieu du vibration général n'ayant plus de parfums distincts, d'un vertige continu de nausée et une force terrible d'asphyxie. Cependant il semblait que c'étaient les paroles de Mme Lecœur et de Mlle. Saget qui puaient si fort. (396).

Zola's avowed naturalistic intentions in writing Les Rougon-Macquart, it will be recalled, were twofold: 1) to study in one family the questions of heredity and milieu; 2) to study in its entirety the Second Empire. Zola would thus present man as an individual and as a member of a particular group in a society. His observations produced many penetrating studies of man as an individual and man as a societal type, but none as convincing as his study of Lisa Quenu. Lisa, apart from symbolizing the epitome, with respect to physique, of the bourgeoisie, represents a cherished ideal of her class--honesty.

She repeatedly attempts to give Florent his share of the inheritance from Uncle Gradelle. Her honesty was even recognized by Mlle. Saget and the other gossips of the Quartier des Halles who avow: "L'honnêteté de Lisa fait un des actes de foi du quartier." (133) Zola, in his plan for the novel remarked, however:

Honnêteté, il faut s'entendre. Je veux lui donner l'honnêteté de sa classe et montrer quels dessous formidables de lâcheté, de cruauté, il y a sous la chair calme d'une bourgeoise.⁵⁰

Yet beneath the veneer of honesty in Lisa is a more powerful force--the desire to maintain at all costs the air of satiety that the Second Empire has produced. Nothing will be allowed to disturb the balance and threaten the fattened bourgeoisie. It is for this reason that Lisa, discovering the flags piled in Florent's room in preparation for the insurrection, runs to the police. Her actions and the actions of the bourgeoisie of which she becomes the symbol crush Florent's insurrection, a failure caused by the bourgeoisie and epigrammatically summed up by Claude Lantier at the close of the novel as follows: "Quels gredins que les honnêtes gens." (502)

Zola has then succeeded in presenting both an individual and a societal type in his presentation of Lisa. One need only think of "le maigre", "la Normande", "la belle poisonnière", "la petite Vieille", and other such individuals who represent societal types to realize the great number of "individual-type" treatments in Le Ventre de Paris. These individuals who are also types are presented throughout the novel in everyday situations--working, gossiping, drinking, eating, all the while growing fatter and fatter. They represent collectively the crass civilization of the Second Empire. Zola remarked in this connection: "Et quel sujet vraiment moderne."⁵¹

⁵⁰ Hemmings, p. 98

⁵¹ Charles Beauchat, Histoire du Naturalisme français Vol. I (Paris: Correa, 1949), p. 58.

Le Ventre de Paris is then a complete expression of the naturalistic thesis of Emile Zola for it is a scientific analysis of a specific and carefully selected group of people who live at a certain time in history and in a certain milieu; it is a scientific journal of carefully documented sensory observations; it is a hymn to the ordinary and the common; it is a judgement of a particular society, and it is a portrait of that society in its entirety. It is, in short, a wholly naturalistic novel. Yet it is more, for it represents the principal structural and stylistic principles of the society from which it emerged.

LE VENTRE DE PARIS: AN IMPRESSIONISTIC NOVEL

The literature of Impressionism is founded on structural and stylistic principles that are not unlike those of the art of Impressionism. This can be verified by examining in detail the impressionistic sentence. Just as the symmetrical and outlined forms in art have been abandoned (the inseparability of form and color and their complete dependance on light), so in literature has the symmetrical and reasoned sentence:

En littérature la cohérence de la phrase est brisée, le règne de l'ordre logique est aboli. La littérature de l'impressionnisme ne connaît plus guère la phrase achevée, correcte, bien assise, rythmée et équilibrée. Elle lui substitue une phrase morcelée, formée d'impressions successives qui viennent s'inscrire en elle sans lien grammatical et logique. ⁵²

Reutersvard underlines this point when he states:

Just as there is not a previously arranged mixture of colors in art, so there is no logical construction of the sentence in literature. ⁵³

In order to understand better the precise nature of the impressionistic sentence, it is necessary to study in detail each of the major component parts of such a construction, beginning with the most fundamental element of the impressionistic sentence, the noun. The impressionistic sentence is characterized by an abundance of substantives placed in positions of importance. This position is dictated in a large part by the essentially descriptive nature of Impressionism. In the pursuit of the momentary and the unique, the impressionist suspends momentarily the movement of fluid reality, as does the naturalist, in an attempt to analyze in detail and describe the particular qualities of a unique moment in the perpetuum mobile. The result is

⁵² Ruth Moser, L'Impressionnisme français (Genève: Droz, 1952) p. 243.

⁵³ Reutersvard, p. 275.

a sentence primarily nominal in character, a sentence which is characterized by an abundance of commas, semi-colons, and conjunctions in an effort to describe every detail. In the following paragraph consisting of 10 nominal sentences joined by "puis", "d'abord", "il y avait", "ensuite", "il y avait encore", and "enfin", there are 59 commas, 7 semi-colons, 1 colon and 85 nouns. The grammatical pattern utilized by Zola in the description of the Quenu charcuterie is not without order. Rather, there is a logical arrangement of "d'abord", "il y avait", "ensuite", "il y avait encore", and "enfin." This sequence is a consistent pattern utilized by Zola in Le Ventre de Paris, a pattern which seems to describe comprehensively without authorial commentary, just as Monet seemed to describe details in The River, 1868, without pausing to identify them:

Puis dans ce cadre aimable, l'étalage montait. Il était posé sur un lit de fines rognures de papier bleu; par endroits, des feuilles de fougère, délicatement rangées, changeait certaines assiettes en bouquets entourés de verdure. C'était un monde de bonnes choses; de choses fondantes, de choses grasses. D'abord, tout en bas, contre la glace, il y avait une rangée de pots de moutarde. Les jambonneaux desossés venaient au-dessus, avec leur bonne figure ronde, jaune de chapelure, leur manche terminé par un pampon vert. Ensuite arrivaient les grands plats: les langues fourrées de Strasbourg, rouges et vernies, saignantes à côté de la pâleur des saucisses et des pieds de cochon; les boudins, noirs, roulés comme des coulevres bonnes filles; les andouilles, empilées deux à deux, crevant de santé; les saucissons, pareils à des échines de chancre, dans leurs chapes d'argent; les pâtés, tout chauds, portant les petits drapeaux de leurs étiquettes; les gros jambons, les grosses pièces de veau et de porc, glacées, et dont la gelée avait des limpidités au fond desquelles dormaient des viandes et des hachis, dans des lacs de graisse figée. Entre les assiettes, entre le plat, sur un lit de rognures bleues, se trouvaient jetés des bocaux d'aschards, de coulis, de truffes conservées, des terrines de foies gras, des boîtes moirées de thon, et de sardines. Une caisse de fromages laitoux, et une autre caisse, pleine d'escargots bourrés de beurre persillé, étaient posées aux deux coins, négligemment. Enfin, tout en haut, tombant d'une barre à dents de loup, des colliers de saucisses, de saucissons, de cervelas, pendaient, symétriques, semblables à des cordons et à des glands de teintures riches; tandis que, derrière, des lambeaux de crépine mettaient leur

dentelle, leur fond de guipure blanche et charnue. Et là, sur le dernier gradin de cette chapelle de ventre, au milieu des bouts de la crépine entre deux bouquets de glaieuls pourprés, le réposoir se couronnait d'un aquarium carré, garni de rocaille, où deux poissons rouges nageaient, continuellement. (61-63)

Equally important to the impressionistic sentence is the descriptive adjective, particularly the adjective of color, which makes the representation of the object described more precise in that it is given the particular characteristics of a specific moment of color associated with an object in a particular milieu. In the following description of the cabbages piled in the street, the adjectives of color and nouns almost inhibit the sentence from flowing freely; that is, the description piles up and the sentence appears as a chain of substantives and adjectives of color. This piling up is considered by Moser as an important characteristic of the impressionistic sentence: "Les couleurs et les choses se pressent dans cette phrase, gonflent la phrase, le tendent et souvent l'empêche de s'avancer." 54

Au carrefour de la rue des Halles, les choux faisaient des montagnes; les énormes choux blancs, serrés et durs comme des boulets de métal pale; les choux frisés, dont les grandes feuilles ressemblaient à des vasques de bronze; les choux rouges, que l'aube changeaient en des floraisons superbes, liés de vin, avec des meurtrissures de carmin et de pourpre sombre. (46)

This piling up of substantives and adjectives of color is seen more clearly in the following description of the "pavillon de la marée":

Pêle-mêle, au hasard du coup de filet, les algues profondes, où dort la vie mystérieuse des grandes eaux, avaient tout livré; les cabillauds, les aigrefins, les carrelets, les plies, les limandes, bête communes d'un gris sale, aux taches blanchâtres; les congres, ces grosses couleuvres d'un bleu de vase, aux minces yeux noirs, si gluantes qu'elles semblent ramper, vivantes encore; les raies élargies, à ventre pale bordé de rouge tendre, dont les dos superbes, allongeant les noeuds saillants de l'échine, se marbrent, jusqu'aux baleines tendues des nageoires, de plaques de cinabre coupées par des zébrures

54 Moser, p. 121.

de bronze florentin, d'une bigarrure assombrie de crapaud et de fleur malsaine; les chiens de mer, horribles, avec leurs têtes rondes, leurs courtes ailes de chauves-souris charnues, monstres qui doivent garder de leurs abois les trésors des grottes marines. Puis, venaient les beaux poissons, isolés un sur chaque plateau d'osier; les saumons, d'argent guilloché, dont chaque écaille semble un coup de burin dans le poil de métal; les mulots, d'écailles plus fortes, de ciselures plus grossières; les grands trubots, les grandes barbures, d'un grain serré et blanc comme du lait caillé; les thons, lissés et vernis, pareilles à des sacs de cuir noirâtre; les bars arrondis, ouvrant une bouche énorme, faisant songer à quelque âme trop grasse, rendue à pleine gorge, dans la stupéfaction de l'agonie. Et de toutes parts, les soles, par paires, grises ou blondes, pullulaient; les équilles minces, raidies, ressemblaient à des rognures d'étain; les harengs, légèrement tordus, montraient tous, sur leurs robes lamées, la meurtrissure de leurs ouïes saignantes; les dorades grasses se teintaient d'un point de carmin, tandis que les maquereaux, dorés, le dos strié de brunissures verdâtres, faisaient luire la nacre changeante de leurs flancs, et que les grondins roses, à ventres blancs, les têtes rangées au centre des mannes, les queues rayonnantes, épanouissaient d'étranges floraisons, panachées, de blanc de perle et de vermillon vif. Il y avait encore des rougets de roche, à la chair exquise, du rouge enluminé des cyprins, des caisses de merlins, aux reflets propres, jolis comme des paniers de fraises, qui laissaient échapper une odeur puissante de violette. (165-167)

In addition to what may be considered a normal grammatical use of the adjective of color, that is, after the noun it modifies, the impressionist word artist utilizes color adjectives in a manner particular to his primary objective, that is, to paint light and color. In the impressionistic sentence adjectives of color are occasionally given positions of such importance that they eclipse the noun they modify; the color becomes more important than the object to which it belongs. This effect is achieved in three ways: 1) by changing the position of the adjective of color from its normal post-nominal position; 2) by substantizing the adjective; 3) by replacing the adjective by an abstract substantive of quality.

By changing the position of the adjective of color from its normal post-nominal position, the impressionistic word artist thereby achieves a strong sense of color in that the eye perceives the color of the object before the object is perceived. Moser underlines this

point as follows:

L'adjectif qui précède le substantif contre la règle traduit toujours une sensation plus forte que la pensée logique; l'oeil aperçoit la forme et la couleur avant de les attribuer à l'objet auquel elles appartiennent. ⁵⁵

The following example illustrates this point:

Un bec de gaz, au sortir d'une nappe d'ombre, éclairait les clous d'un soulier, la manche bleue d'une blouse (instead of "la manche d'une blouse bleue"); le bout d'une casquette, entrevus dans cette floraison énorme des bouquets rouges des carottes (instead of "des bouquets de carottes rouges"), des bouquets blancs de navets (instead of "des bouquets de navets blancs"), des verdure débordantes des pois et des choux. (5-6 the parenthetical restatements and underlining do not appear in the original text).

An equally strong sense of color is produced by substantizing the adjective of color as in the following example: (The underlining does not appear in the original text)

Et le vernis mordoré d'un panier d'oignons, le rouge saignant d'un tas de tomates, l'effacement jaunâtre d'un lot de concombres, le violet sombre d'une grappe d'aubergines, ça et là, s'allumaient; pendant que de gros radis noirs, rangés en nappes de deuil, laissaient encore quelque trous de ténèbres, au milieu des joies vibrantes du réveil. (47)

Or in the following descriptions of the fish in the "pavillon de la marée" in the twilight and the vegetables covering the sidewalks in the Quartier des Halles:

Une barre de soleil, tombant du haut vitrage de la rue couverte, vint allumer ces couleurs précieuses, lavées et attendries par la vague, irisées et fondues dans les tons de chair des coquillages, l'opale des merlans, la nacre des macquereaux, l'or des rougets, la robe lamée des harengs, les grandes pièces d'argenterie des saumons. (167)

On ne voyait encore, dans la clarté brusque et tournante des lanternes, que l'épanouissement d'un paquet d'artichauts, les verts délicats des salades, le corail rose des carottes, l'ivoire mat des navets; et ces éclairs de couleur intenses filaient de long des tas, avec des lanternes. (25)

The impressionistic artist can also produce a strong sensation of color by replacing the adjective of color by an abstract substantive

of quality as in the following example:

C'était une mer. Elle s'étendait de la pointe Saint-Eustache à la rue des Halles, entre les deux groupes de pavillons. Et aux deux bouts, dans les deux carrefours le flot grandissait encore; les légumes submergeaient les pavés... ces tas moutonnants comme des flots pressés, ce fleuve de verdure qui semblait couler dans l'encaissement de la chaussée, pareil à la débâcle des pluies d'automne, prenaient des ombres délicatées et perlées, des violets attendris, des roses teintées de lait, des verts noyés dans les jaunes, toutes les pâleurs qui font du ciel une soie changeante au lever du soleil. (45)

Utilizing the preceding descriptive techniques, that is, changing the position of the adjective of color, substantizing the color adjective, and replacing the color adjective by an abstract substantive of color, the impressionist word artist places on the page, in much the same manner as the painterly impressionist, distinct and unblended spots of color, thereby producing a strong sense of dynamic color. These techniques are, in fact, viewed by Hatzfeld as the main descriptive technique utilized by Zola in Le Ventre de Paris.⁵⁶

In addition to the adjectival transformations carried out in the preceding ways, the impressionist artist also alters the adjective of color by the addition of the suffix "âtre". This suffix, used repeatedly in Le Ventre de Paris, evokes a color that could only have been produced on a specific object at a specific time in a specific geographical location. The following scene takes place in the dimly lit poultry storage area beneath Les Halles:

Le grillage de la resserre était tout poussiéreux, tendu de toiles d'araignées, à ce point qu'il semblait garni de stores gris; l'urine des lapins rongait les panneaux du bas; la fiente de la volaille tachait les planches d'éclaboussures blanchâtres. Mais Lisa ne voulait pas désobliger Marjolin en montrant davantage son dégoût. (325-326).

In the following scene Les Halles are described as "greenish grey" as they emerge from the shadows:

⁵⁶ Hatzfeld, p. 173.

Et Florent regardait les grandes Halles sortir de l'ombre, où il les avait vues, allongeant à l'infini leurs palais à jour. Elle se solidifiaient, d'un gris verdâtre, plus géantes encores, avec leur mature prodigieuse, supportant les nappes sans fin de leurs toits. (44)

Not only is the "âtre" suffix utilized to describe objects but also people, as in the following description given by Claude Lantier of Marjolin et Cadine:

Il (Marjolin) connaissait les moindres recoins des Halles, les aimait d'une tendresse de fils, vivait avec des agilités d'écureuil, au milieu de cette forêt de fonte. Ils (Marjolin et Cadine) faisaient un joli couple, lui, et cette geuse de Cadine que la mère Chantmesse avait ramassé un jour au coin de l'ancien marché des innocents. Lui était superbe, ce grand bête, doré comme un Reubens, avec un duvet roussâtre qui accrochait le jour. (43).

In addition to the abundance of substantives and adjectives, particularly those of color, the impressionistic sentence is characterized by the almost total absence of verbs from positions of importance. The verb is usually relegated to a clause or used as an auxiliary. It is the substantives and the adjectives that dominate the impressionistic sentence. Hatzfeld has called this type of sentence "a color spot without verbal harmonization".⁵⁷ Ruth Moser also underlines this point as follows:

Dans la phrase impressionniste, il n'y a aucun verbe principal. Il en résulte un mouvement brisé de la phrase, privée de son lien principal, du verbe. Sans verbe, il n'y a pas d'élan rythmé, il n'y a pas de continuité.⁵⁸

Moser further explains:

Cette méfiance à l'égard du verbe est une des marques du style impressionniste.⁵⁹

The relative unimportance of verbs in the impressionistic sentence is the result of the inherent nature of Impressionism, a descriptive art and not a narrative art. Utilizing a sensitive, scientific eye

⁵⁷ Hatzfeld, p. 173.

⁵⁸ Moser, p. 126.

⁵⁹ Moser, p. 244.

the impressionist suspends momentarily the motion of time and thereafter analyzes in detail the moment of reality held in suspension.

Moser remarks:

La phrase impressionniste se compose de substantifs juxtaposés, déterminés soit par des adjectifs verbaux ou des compléments de noms. Cela suffit, l'essentiel est dit, un verbe n'ajouterait rien de plus, n'aurait qu'une fonction logique et syntaxique à remplir; terminer la pensée, la pensée qui s'ébauche, achever la phrase. ⁶⁰

Moser's remarks are further substantiated by von Wartburg in comparing the general characteristics of the French and German languages, particularly the verb:

La catégorie des mots qui marque surtout les transformations, le devenir, l'activité, est le verbe. Or le rôle du verbe est bien plus réduit en français qu'en allemand. D'abord, le verbe français a souvent quelque chose de plus abstrait, de moins nuancé, de moins précis que le verbe allemand. On s'en apercevra facilement quand on se trouve dans la nécessité de traduire un texte allemand. Il faut dire "aller à cheval", "aller en voiture", "aller à pied", pour "reiten", "fahren", "gehen"; autrement dit, la différence entre ces trois manières de locomotion est exprimée par des substantifs. Pour "stehen", "sitzen" and "liegen" le français se sert du verbe incolore "être" avec un adjectif ou un adverbe (debout, assis, couché). Du reste, il n'en a pas toujours été ainsi. L'ancien français disait "ester", "seoir", "gesir". Il serait facile de multiplier ces exemples pour opposer la richesse verbale de l'ancien français à la pauvreté du français moderne. ⁶¹

There was then a general evolution away from the essentially verbal style of old French towards a more nominal style, an evolution which can be observed clearly by comparing the essentially verbal structure of much Renaissance and Classical literature with the more nominal literature of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in France. The most noticeable stages in this evolution towards nominalism can be seen in the prose productions of Rousseau, Chateaubriand, Balzac and Flaubert. Wartburg substantiates this point as

⁶⁰ Moser, p. 126.

⁶¹ W. v. Wartburg, Evolution et structure de la langue française (Leipzig: Teubner, 1934), pp. 227-228.

follows:

Cette tendance à s'exprimer les événements et les actions par des substantifs plutôt que par des verbes s'est particulièrement accentuée au courant du dix-neuvième siècle.⁶²

This evolution from an essentially verbal style to an essentially nominal style reached a particularly high point of development in the novels of Emile Zola, particularly in Le Ventre de Paris. As such Zola was aided in achieving his naturalistic objectives. Wartburg remarks:

On a souvent étudié cette transformation de la phrase, moderne (c'est-à-dire nominale) et l'on a constaté qu'elle devient particulièrement fréquente chez les naturalistes. Cela n'est pas nous étonner, car les naturalistes cherchent à donner une vision aussi nette que possible des objets. On peut puiser chez eux à pleines mains: "Sur les deux trottoirs c'était une hâte de pas, des bras ballants, une hâte sans fin. Il y eût une panique folle, un galop de bétail, une fuite éperdue dans la boue." ⁶³

Zola was, at the same time, aided in achieving his impressionistic objective as can be observed in the following examples from Le Ventre de Paris:

Sur un carreau de la rue Rambuteau il y avait des tas gigantesques de choux-fleurs, rangés en piles comme des boulets, avec une régularité surprenante. Les chaires blanches et tendres des choux s'épanouissaient, pareilles à d'énormes roses, au milieu des grosses feuilles vertes, et les tas ressemblaient à des bouquets de mariée, alignés dans des jardinières colossales. (31)

Entre les quatre haies, le long du potager, le soleil de mai avait comme une pamoison de tiédeur, un silence plein d'un bourdonnement d'insectes, une somnolence d'enfantement heureux. A certain craquements, à certain soupirs légers, il semblait qu'on entendit naître et pousser des légumes. Les carrés d'épinards et d'oseille, les bandes de radis, de navets et de choux, étalaient leurs nappes régulières, leur terrain noir, verdi par les panaches des feuilles. Plus loin, les rigoles de salades, les oignons, les poireaux, les céleris, alignés, plantés au cordeau, semblaient des soldats de plomb à la parade. (343-344).

⁶² Wartburg, p. 228.

⁶³ Wartburg, p. 228.

The verbs contained in the above descriptions do not in any instance carry the eye of the reader outside a very limited geographical area; in the first example, "le carreau de la rue Rambuteau", in the second example, Madame François's market garden. They are static verbs. Any movement which occurs is contained within the suspended moment analyzed by the author. Just as the impressionistic canvas seems to be alive with movement, so too does the moment described by the literary impressionist. Yet it is a restricted movement in that it is limited to only one moment. As such the moment is represented as distinctly different from all other moments in the perpetuum of time, that is, an illusion of movement is portrayed when in reality no movement occurs. What appears to be movement is in most instances, an illusion of movement created by the vibrating dots of color bathed in light. The verb "s'épanouir", for example, is utilized by Zola in describing the cabbages on the "carreau de la rue Rambuteau". The movement implied by the use of such a reflexive verb, however, does not take place. Yet to the observer there is an illusion of movement created by the effect of light and color, an illusion of movement produced by chromatic fusion on the observer's retina. A similar effect is achieved in the following sentence taken from the above description of Madame François's garden: "À certain craquements, à certain soupirs légers, il semblait qu'on entendit naître et pousser les légumes." The movement inherent in the verbs "naître" and "pousser" does not occur. It is an illusion of movement produced by the fragmentation of form through light. Similarly, there is no movement produced or associated with the verb "s'étaler" in the following sentence: "Les carées d'épinards, et d'oseille, les bandes de radis, de navets, de carottes, les grands plants de pommes de terre et de choux, étalaient leurs nappes régulières, leur terreau noir, verdi par les panaches des feuilles."

The verb "étaler" in the preceding sentence is static. It is, in short, a verb with a wholly nominal or descriptive function. The same is true of the verb "il y avait" in the following sentence: "Sur le carreau de la rue Rambuteau il y avait des tas gigantesques de choux-fleurs, rangés en piles comme des boulets, avec une régularité surprenante." The impersonal verb "il y a" in this instance is followed by the substantive "des tas" which grammatically serves as the direct object. Logically, "des tas" appears as the subject. Alfred Ewert underlines this point when he states:

"Il y a des hommes" is felt to be logically on the same footing as "des hommes existent," that is, there are men.⁶⁴

"Il y a " thereby becomes a positing verb, that is, a verb indicating not the movement of a particular reality but only its existence.

The description of Madame Francois's market garden illustrates well a fundamental use of verbs in the impressionistic sentence, that is, impressionistic verbs serve not a narrative function but a descriptive function. As such, the majority of the verbs in Le Ventre de Paris are in the imperfect tense, the principal tense of French Realism. It is in fact the dominant tense of French prose in the second half of the nineteenth century, a tense whose descriptive capabilities were fully realized by Gustave Flaubert and which thereafter became a literary commonplace in French prose. The imperfect tense is of particular value to the impressionist literary artist, who, having suspended the motion of fluid reality, utilized description as a means of representing comprehensively a particular moment. In other words, as narrative progression is subordinated to description, the particular characteristics of a rigidly defined moment are fully represented in an effort to differentiate one moment from all other

⁶⁴ Alfred Ewert, The French Language (New York: McMillan, 1938) p. 236.

moments in the perpetuum of time. In the following description of Lisa sunning herself in front of her charcuterie, no action occurs even though the scene is constructed with sixteen verbs. Fifteen of the verbs are in the imperfect tense. (In the clause "des personnes qui vivent d'ordinaire dans les graisses", the present tense of the verb "vivre" followed by "d'ordinaire" has the same value as an imperfect verb.) They are all verbs which posit, evoke, and describe, verbs which are devoid of all narrative qualities. They are, in short, impressionistic verbs:

Elle mettait un bonheur de plus, une plentitude solide et heureuse, au milieu de toutes ces gaietés grasses. C'était une belle femme. Elle tenait la largeur de la porte, point trop grasse pourtant, forte de la gorge, dans la maturité de la trentaine. Elle venait de se lever, et déjà ses cheveux, lissés, collés et comme vernis, lui descendaient en petits bandeaux, plats sur les tempes. Cela la rendait très propre. Sa chair paisible avait cette blancheur transparente, cette peau fine et rosée des personnes qui vivent d'ordinaire dans les graisses et les viandes crues. Elle était sérieuse, plutôt, très calme et très lente, s'égayant du regard, les lèvres graves. Son col de linge empesé bridait sur son cou, ses manches blanches qui lui montaient jusqu'aux coudes, son tablier blanc cachant la pointe de ses souliers, ne laissant voir que des bouts de sa robe de cachemire noir, les épaules rondes, le corsage plein, dont le corset tenait l'étoffe, extrêmement. Dans tout ce blanc, le soleil brûlait. Mais trempée de clarté, les cheveux bleus, la chair rose, les manches et la jupe éclatantes, elle ne clignait pas les paupières, elle prenait en toute tranquillité béate son bain de lumière matinale, les yeux doux, riant aux Halles débordantes. Elle avait un air de grande honnêteté. (63-64)

In addition to the comprehensive representation of a particular moment by the impressionistic use of nouns, verbs and adjectives, the impressionistic literary artist further represents one particular moment as unique by the use of figurative language, that is, the simile and the metaphor. Just as nouns, verbs, and adjectives are utilized in a particular manner by the impressionist, so too are similes and metaphors. The impressionistic simile, as do all similes,

helps to make a particular representation more precise by providing a basis for comparison. The impressionistic simile, however, is a more highly perfected simile in that the reality which serves as a basis for comparison is evoked in an impressionistic manner, as in the following example:

Sur le carreau, à droite et à gauche, des femmes assises avaient devant elles des corbeilles carrées, pleines de bottes de roses, de violettes, de dahlias, de marguerites. Les bottes s'assombrissaient, pareilles à des taches de sang, pâlissaient doucement avec des gris argentés d'une grande délicatesse. (38)

Illustrated in the above simile are all of the basic principles of the impressionistic aesthetic. The form of the roses and daisies has been fragmented by the rising sun; they are reduced to "des taches de sang". As the form of the roses is fragmented the colors become more dominant. This is accomplished by the use of the verb "pâlir", a verb of color in the imperfect tense, which is modified by a prepositional phrase composed of color spots--"avec des gris argentés d'une grande délicatesse." Utilizing this simile Zola has thereby fully represented the roses and the daisies in a unique and transitory moment. The following similes utilized in describing the tenchs and the carp arriving in the markets are also wholly impressionistic:

On déballait les carpes du Rhin, mordorées, si belles avec leurs roussissures métalliques et dont les plaques d'écailles ressemblent à des émaux cloisonnés et bronzés; les tanches, sombres et magnifiques, pareilles à du cuivre rouge taché de vert-de-gris. (169)

In the following example, the baskets of fish lined up on the sidewalk in the market area are compared to a school of fish:

Quand les mannes s'étalèrent Florent put croire qu'un banc de poissons venait d'échouer là sur ce trottoir, ralant encore, avec les nacrés roses, les coraux saignants, les perles lait-euses, toutes les moires, et toutes les paleurs glauques de l'océan. (165)

Just as the simile occupies an important position in the art of impressionist, so too does the metaphor. The specific nature of the

metaphors utilized by Zola in Le Ventre de Paris can be traced to the historical phenomenon of artistic Impressionism, which, it will be recalled, was born when Monet and Renoir observed the action of sunlight on the water of the Seine near Argenteuil. ^{at La Grenouillère (1869)} As a result ^{Not till 1872} of their analysis of the effect of sunlight on water Monet and Renoir were lead to the discovery of a new form of artistic representation. Just as these artists in the late 1860's had found a new means of representing water, so too did Zola in Le Ventre de Paris. Water images and representations of water are a favorite motif of Impressionism, both literary and artistic. Moser remarks in this connection:

L'impressionnisme est l'art de l'insaisissable, du fluide; c'est ce qui ressort non seulement de ses thèmes fluviaux et marins, mais encore de telles métaphores qui voient la matière sous le rapport de la fluidité. 65

In the following example, not only did Zola utilize a metaphor evoking a water image, but he sustained the metaphor throughout the one hundred and forty-eight words which follow the initial evocation:

Mais Claude était monté debout sur le banc d'enthousiasme. Il força son compagnon à admirer le jour se levant sur les légumes. C'était une mer. Elle s'étendait de la pointe Saint-Eustache à la rue des Halles, entre les deux groupes de pavillons. Et, aux deux bouts, dans les deux carrefours, le flot grandissait encore, les légumes submergeait les pavés. Le jour se levait lentement d'un gris très doux, lavant toutes choses d'une teinte claire d'aquarelle. Ces tas moutonnantes comme des flots pressés, ce fleuve de verdure, qui semblait couler dans l'encaissement de la chaussée, pareil à la débacle des pluies d'automne, prenaient des ombres délicates et perlées, des violets attendries, des roses teintées de lait, des verts noyés dans les jaunes, toutes les pâleurs qui font du ciel une soie changeante au lever du soleil; et, à mesure que l'incendie du matin montait en jets de flamme au fond de la rue Rambuteau, les légumes s'éveillaient davantage, sortaient du grand bleuissement traînant à terre. (45-46)

The image which is evoked by the sentence: "C'était une mer." is sustained by the following: "le flot", "submergeait", "lavant", "aquarelle", "des flots pressés", "ce fleuve de verdure", "couler",

65 Moser, p. 119.

"des pluies d'automne", "parlées", "des verts noyés", and "jets de flamme". A similar use of water images is made by Zola to describe Florent's reaction to Les Halles as he looks out of his window. In this instance the sustained metaphor is a continuation of the image evoked by the simile, "comme des mers grises":

Que de rêves il avait fait à cette hauteur, les yeux perdus sur les toitures élargies des pavillons. Le plus souvent il les voyait comme des mers grises qui lui parlaient de contrées lointaines. Par les nuits sans lune, elles s'assombrissaient, devenaient des lacs morts, des eaux noirs, empestés et croupies. Les nuits limpides les changeaient en fontaines de lumière; les rayons coulaient sur les deux étages de toits, mouillant les grandes plaques de zinc, débordant et retombant du bord des immenses vasques superposées. Les temps froids les roidissaient, les gelaient, ainsi que des baies de Norvège où glissent des patineurs, tandis que les chaleurs de juin les endormaient d'un sommeil lourd. (454).

The following sustain the metaphorical evocation in the preceding example: "devenaient des lacs morts", "des eaux noirs", "en fontaines", "coulaient", "mouillant", "débordant", "vasques", "gelaient", "des baies de Norvège".

All of the preceding parts of speech, that is, nouns, adjectives, verbs, as well as the similes and metaphors, when utilized in the manner discussed above and grouped together, either in a single sentence or in a paragraph, form what may be called an impressionistic tableau. Le Ventre de Paris is composed of six main descriptive tableaux which correspond to the six main sections of the novel, chapters in which relatively little action takes place and wherein descriptive tableaux form the bulk of the novelistic material. The following is a sequential list of the descriptive tableaux and the principle narrative material in Le Ventre de Paris. Preceding each of the six major tableau groups is a succinct summary of the principal narration presented therein:

SECTION ONE: FLORENT ARRIVING AUX HALLES

Wagons arriving in Paris at 2 A.M.; Madame Francois stopping her wagon and picking up Florent from the gutter; Florent recalling his past history; Florent helping Mme Francois unload her cart; the Central Markets waiting for the sun to come up; Les Halles in the morning light; Florent seeing for the second time the Rue Montorgueil where he earlier was captured and recalling his past; description of the Central Markets mixed with Florent's recollections; description of Les Halles at 4:30 A.M.; general description of Claude Lantier; Claude and Florent walking on the Rue Pirouette; Claude describes the area; Claude and Florent drinking at M. Legibre's; Claude and Florent encounter Alexandre; description of the sunrise in the Quartier des Halles; Claude and Florent "faire le tour" des Halles; description of Marjolin and Cadine; Florent has the feeling that he is surrounded by good food; description of Florent's fear in seeing familiar landmarks; Florent encounters Gavard, Mlle. Saget, and Mlle. Lecœur; Gavard recounts the recent events of Les Halles and takes Florent to the charcuterie of his brother, Quenu; exterior description of the "Quenu Charcuterie"; description of the products in the charcuterie; description of Lisa sunning herself in front of the butcher shop; the reunion of Florent with his brother and sister-in-law.

SECTION TWO: FLORENT JOINING THE SOCIETY OF LES HALLES

Florent's life in exile and before is recalled--his education, his parents; Florent as a teacher; the childhood of Quenu; Uncle Gradelle's disgust for politics; Florent's involvement in the plot to overthrow the Empire; Florent's exile; Quenu moves in with Uncle Gradelle and subsequently marries Lisa; death of Gradelle; Quenu and Lisa are prosperous merchants; description of Lisa sunning herself in front of the butcher shop; the arrival of Florent; Lisa devises a cover story--Florent will be Lisa's cousin who is returning from America; Florent is in need of a job; Gavard and his history; description of Mlle. Saget; Florent refuses to be market inspector; description of Mlle. Saget, Mme Lecœur, and La Sariette, as well as Lisa's rival La belle Normande as they try to ascertain Florent's past; description of the products in the butcher shop; Florent recounting the story of the "monsieur mangé par des bêtes"; Florent's story is mixed with a description of the charcuterie, its owners, and its products; Florent consents to be a market inspector.

SECTION THREE: FLORENT REJECTING THE SOCIETY OF LES HALLES

Florent as "inspecteur de la marée"; description of the fish beginning with the ocean fish and then the fresh water fish; M. Verlaque explains the job to Florent; description of La belle Normande and her stand; Florent begins to spend his evenings at M. Lebigre's where he finds others who share his political feelings; description of M. Lebigre's café; description of the people who come there every night; description

of Robine, Logre, Charvet, Clemence, and Rose; description of Les Halles from Florent's window; Florent's difficulties as inspector; the Mehudin family and their history; the battle between Florent and "La belle Normande"; the incident of Mme Toboureaux's maid and the spoiled brill; Florent closes "La belle Normande's" booth for eight days; description of "La belle Normande" and her son Muche; Muche's like for Florent; Florent teaches Muche to read and his war with "la belle poissonnière ends"; Florent bored with his job; description of the "poissons monotones"; description of the fish pavilion and its stench; Florent again decided to again attempt to overthrow the Empire; Florent decides to continue giving lessons to Muche; Mlle. Saget attempts to clarify Florent's past history; the jealousies of Lisa and "la belle poissonnière"; the political discussions become more animated; Florent encourages Quenu to attend the meetings; Mlle. Saget and her group attempt to clarify Florent's past by convincing Lisa that her husband and her shop are going to be harmed; Lisa's doubts about Florent.

SECTION FOUR: FLORENT BEING REJECTED BY LISA, "LA REINE DE'S HALLES"

Description of Marjolin and Cadine; Cadine the flower seller and her flowers; description of Les Halles; Cadine and Marjolin growing up in the area of the central markets; their exploits in the poultry market; lengthy description of the baskets wherein they slept; description of Les Halles "sous terre"; description of Lisa; description of Les Halles from the rooftops; Claude Lantier becomes a friend of Cadine and Marjolin; they walk throughout the entire area of the markets expressing their personal preferences; description of Les Halles in the late afternoon; Léon, Cadine and Marjolin steal food; Lisa tries to convince her husband that Florent is a threat to their security; Lisa announces that either Florent or she will have to leave; Florent senses her hate and decides to eat his meals elsewhere; Lisa becomes friendly with Gavard in an attempt to find out more about Florent; Marjolin conducts Lisa into the underground storage area in search of Gavard; description of the underground city; the incident of "mère Palette's" geese; description of the "pierres d'abbatage"; Marjolin attempts to seduce Lisa; Quenu suggests to Lisa that they attend the theater; Lisa looks in Florent's room for clues about his personal life; great commotion in the street--someone has found Marjolin unconscious in the caves; Claude, Florent and Madame Francois go to Nanterre for the day; description of life in the country; discussion of the battle between the "gras" and the "maigre"; description of the return trip to Paris.

SECTION FIVE: FLORENT BEING REJECTED BY LES HALLES

Lisa goes to speak to the Abbé Roustan; description of the interior of Saint-Eustache; Lisa gets advice from the abbé on what to do concerning Florent; Lisa goes to Florent's room and finds the first chapter of his study of Cayenne; she ultimately finds his plans for overthrowing the Empire; Lisa returns from Florent's room and finds Pauline missing; the

incident of Pauline and Muche playing in the mud; Mlle. Saget rescues Pauline from Muche and through Pauline learns Florent's story; description of Mlle. Saget spreading the story of Florent's past in the quartier des Halles; description of La Sariette's fruit; description of the cheese in the cheese stalls; the "symphonie des fromages"; description of the cheese mixed with Mlle. Saget's gossip; the story of Florent's past is exaggerated and told everywhere; arguments for and against Florent; the news of Florent's past affects the whole area; the vegetables and the fish of the butcher shop are affected by the news; lengthy description of the changes in the quartier des Halles; Mlle. Saget keeps Lisa informed of the latest gossip concerning Florent; Florent asks for the money owed him from the inheritance; Lisa discovers the flags in Florent's room and runs to the police station; Florent wants the insurrection to take place immediately; description of Les Halles.

SECTION SIX: FLORENT BEING EXPELLED FROM LES HALLES

Florent makes more detailed plans; his walking trip through Paris; Florent encounters Claude who is looking for Marjolin; Marjolin is in the caves killing pigeons; Auguste tells Florent that the police came looking for him that morning; Lisa carries on as usual; the police search the Normande's room looking for traces of Florent and discover Muche's notebooks wherein he practices writing the sentence: "Quand l'heure sonnera, le coupable tombera."; Mlle. Saget runs to tell Lisa the latest news; Gavard, looking for Florent, goes to Florent's room and is captured by the police; the gossips run to Gavard's apartment and take what they want; Florent encounters "la mère Mehuduin" who tells him that a man was looking for him and that he is waiting for him at the Quenu charcuterie; Florent goes to his room and is captured by the police, before leaving he frees a caged bird; description of the capture; Florent is again deported, Logre and Lacaille are acquitted, Alexandre is sentenced to two years of prison; Claude and Madame Francois discuss the arrest; description of Les Halles resuming their normal activity; Claude remarks: "Quels gredins que les honnêtes gens.".

Each of the separate descriptive tableaux listed above and all of the narrative material are built around the main subject of the novel--Les Halles. The narrative material, however, does not in any significant manner represent narration in the traditional meaning of the term. Just as the importance of the verb in the impressionistic sentence is minimized, so too is the importance of narration in the impressionistic novel minimized. Each of the six main sections of the novel is constructed around a motif, Les Halles. Narration in Le Ventre de Paris is a means utilized by Zola to portray comprehensively

the movement of Les Halles as it is affected by the presence of Florent. As such, Le Ventre de Paris represents a series of six main impressionistic descriptive tableaux, a series not unlike the series of impressionistic canvases created by Monet around one central motif. Les Halles is thus portrayed at six precise and unique moments of its existence. Just as the Rouen Cathedral in Monet's series is portrayed at sunrise, so is Les Halles portrayed as Florent arrives in the area of Les Halles; just as the cathedral is portrayed at noon, so too is Les Halles portrayed when Florent joins the working world of the "gras" and becomes "inspecteur de la marée"; just as the cathedral is seen in the afternoon light, so too is the area of Les Halles seen when Florent rejects the world of the fat; just as the cathedral is portrayed in the fog, so too is the area of Les Halles portrayed when Lisa, "la reine des Halles," rejects Florent; just as the cathedral is portrayed at dusk, so too is the area of the markets portrayed as it rejects Florent; just as the cathedral is portrayed in the winter, so too is the area of Les Halles seen as it expels Florent, "le maigre", from its presence.

In both instances the subjects, whether Les Halles or the Rouen Cathedral, are, for the most part, secondary to the descriptions they evoke. Moser remarks:

Traiter un sujet pour les tons et non pour le sujet lui-même, voilà ce qui distingue les impressionnistes des autres peintres. 66

Moser further underlines this point in discussing Monet's series:

Cette vérité immédiate de l'éclairage et de l'atmosphère fait la raison d'être de ces toiles; qui ne saurait intéresser ni par le sujet ni par la composition, ni par le détail. Les impressionnistes ne composent plus. Ils choisissent, tout au plus, le site qui fera le juste sujet de leur toile et celui-ci leur importe si peu que Monet en viendra à ne plus varier

66 Moser, p. 53.

dans ses séries qu'il peindra d'après le même motif. Les séries seront la dernière conséquence d'une tendance qui commence à se manifester dès les premières oeuvres des impressionistes, la tendance à ne retenir d'un sujet que les variations colorées, à ne retenir que la tonalité créée par les jeux de la lumière.⁶⁷

This point was also underlined by Mallarmé, who, in October 1864, remarked:

J'ai enfin commencé mon Hérodiade, avec terreur car j'invente une langue qui doit nécessairement jaillir d'une poétique nouvelle, que je pourrais définir en deux mots: Peindre non la chose, mais l'effet qu'elle produit. Le vers ne doit donc pas, là, se composer des mots, mais d'intentions, et toutes les paroles s'effacer devant la sensation.⁶⁸

The plot of Le Ventre de Paris, although of importance, is of lesser importance than the description it evokes, a plot built around Florent. Yet it is not Florent who is the chief player in the novel. The chief player in the novel is "le ventre de Paris" itself. Yet the novel is convincing. It is convincing because of its art and not because of its intrigue. It is a triumph of description over narration. It is a technique analogous to that utilized by Molière in composing his comedies, that is, the plot serves as a pretext for uniting the separate character descriptions and developments.

What then would appear to be narration in Le Ventre de Paris is nothing more than the movement caused in the Quartier des Halles by the presence of Florent, that is, in Le Ventre de Paris narration becomes description. Florent is a stimulus. He is the rain, the fog, the morning sun, the afternoon light. "Le ventre de Paris" is the Rouen Cathedral. In impressionistic art it is the individual color spots which seem to vibrate on the surface of a canvas. In Le Ventre de Paris it is the people of Les Halles who vibrate and move as they

⁶⁷ Moser, p. 53.

⁶⁸ Reported by Moser, p. 87.

react to Florent, either his absence or presence. In both instances the vibrations are identical.

At the same time, inanimate objects of the Quartier des Halles, the fish, the fruit, the flowers, the vegetables, the separate pavilions, are represented by Zola as vibrating color spots bathed in light. The pavilions are, as is the Rouen Cathedral, portrayed at all times of the day and in all atmospheric conditions:

Les Halles before sunrise:

Mais ce qui le (Florent) suprenait, c'étaient aux deux bords de la rue, de gigantesques pavillons, dont les toits superposés lui semblaient grandir, s'étendre, se perdre, au fond d'un poudrolement de lueurs. Il rêvait, l'esprit affaibli, à une suite de palais, énormes et réguliers, d'une légèreté de cristal, allumant sur leurs façades les milles raies de flammes de persiennes continues et sans fin. (15)

Les Halles at sunrise:

Et Florent regardait les grandes Halles sortir de l'ombre, sortir du rêve où il les avait vues, allongeant à l'infini leurs palais à jour. Elles se solidifiaient, d'un gris verdâtre, plus géantes encore, avec leur masses géométriques; et, quand toutes les clartés inférieures furent éteintes, qu'elles baignèrent dans le jour levant, carrées, uniformes, elles apparurent comme une machine moderne à vapeur, quelque chaudière destinée à la digestion d'un peuple, gigantesque ventre de métal, bouillonnée, rivé, fait de bois, de verre et de fonte, d'une élégance et d'une puissance de moteur mécanique, fonctionnant là, avec la chaleur de chauffage, l'étourdissement, le branle furieux des roues. (44-45)

Les Halles at noon:

Et dans les grandes tournées, lorsque tous trois, Claude, Cadine, et Marjolin, rôdaient autour des Halles, ils apercevaient, par chaque bout de rue, un coin du géant de fonte. C'étaient des échappées brusques, des architectures imprévues, le même horizon s'offrait sans cesse sous des aspects divers. Claude se retournait, surtout Rue Montmartre, après avoir passé l'église. Au loin, les Halles, vues de biais, l'enthousiasmaient; une grande arcade, une porte haute, béante, s'ouvrait; puis les pavillons s'entassaient, avec deux étages de toits, leurs persiennes continues, leurs stores immenses; on eût dit des profils de maisons et de palais superposés, une babylone de métal, d'une légèreté, traversée par des terrasses suspendues, des couloirs aériens, des ponts volants de jetés sur le vide. Ils revenaient toujours là, à cette ville autour de laquelle ils flanaient, sans pouvoir la quitter de plus de cent pas. (307-308)

Les Halles at sunset:

Il (Florent) se plaisait aussi, le soir, aux beaux couchers de soleil, qui découpaient en noir les fines dentelles des Halles, sur les lueurs rouges du ciel; la lumière de cinq heures, la poussière volante des derniers rayons, entraient par toutes les baies, par toutes les raies des persiennes; c'était comme un transparent lumineux et dépoli, où se dessinaient les arrêts minces des piliers, les courbes élégantes des charpentes, les figures géométriques des toitures. Il s'emplissait les yeux de cette immense épure lavée à l'encre de chine sur un velin phosphorescent, reprenant son rêve de quelque machine colossale, avec ses roues, ses leviers, ses balanciers, entrevues dans la pourpre du charbon flambant sous la chaudière. (221-222)

Les Halles "par les soirées de flamme":

Mais, par les soirées de flamme, quand les puanteurs montaient, traversant d'un firsson les grands rayons jaunes, comme des fumées chaudes, les nausées le secouaient de nouveau, son rêve s'égarait, à s'imaginer des étuves géantes, des cuves infectes d'équarrisseur où fondait la mauvaise graisse d'un peuple. (222)

Les Halles on cold nights:

Il restait là quelques minutes (à sa fenêtre), aspirant fortement l'air frais qui lui venait de la Seine; par-dessus les maisons de la rue de Rivoli. En bas, confusément, les toitures des Halles étalaient leurs nappes grises. C'était comme des lacs endormis, au milieu desquels le reflet furtif de quelque vitre allumait la lueur argentée d'un flot. Au loin les toits des pavillons de la boucherie et de la valée s'assombrissaient encore, n'étaient plus que des entassements de ténèbres reculant l'horizon. Il jouissait du regard ce grand morceau de ciel qu'il avait en face de lui, de cet immense développement des Halles, qui lui donnait, au milieu des rues étranglées de Paris, la vision d'un bord de mer, avec les eaux mortes et ardoisées d'une baie, à peine frissonnantes du roulement lointain de la houle. (193)

Les Halles on nights when the moon is not visible:

Par les nuits sans lune, elles s'assombrissaient; devenaient des lacs morts, des eaux noires, empestées et croupies. (454)

Les Halles "par les nuits limpides":

Les nuits limpides les changeaient en fontaines de lumières; les rayons coulaient sur les deux étages de toits, mouillant les grandes plaques de zinc, débordaient et retombant au bord de ces immenses vasques superposées (54)

Les Halles could thus be portrayed at all hours of the day and in all atmospheric conditions, like the motifs of Monet's series, since the principal goal sought by Zola was not the representation of the area of the markets as an end in itself but as a means to the achievement of light and color. This goal is stated in Le Ventre de Paris as follows:

A chaque heure les jeux de lumière changeaient ainsi les profils des Halles, depuis les bleuissements du matin et les ombres de midi, jusqu'à l'incendie du soleil couchant, s'éteignant dans la cendre grise de la crépuscule. (222)

When both the vibrations of the inanimate objects of Les Halles and the vibrations or reactions of the people of Les Halles are viewed collectively, Le Ventre de Paris assumes a wholly impressionistic finish, that is, it becomes an impressionistic canvas upon which is found a vibrating surface of color spots bathed in light.

CONCLUSION

The phenomena of literary Naturalism and artistic Impressionism are then, it can be argued, synonymous. Both of these movements in the creative arts flourished in France during the decade 1870-1880. It is a decade traditionally considered by art historians as characterized by the impressionistic aesthetic; at the same time it is considered by literary historians as characterized by the naturalistic aesthetic. As such the decade 1870-1880 appears at the outset as an historical period characterized by two equally important and distinct movements in the creative arts. As has been demonstrated in this study, the decade 1870-1880 is characterized by only one aesthetic, that of Impressionism. The apparent aesthetic contradiction, moreover, results in the creation of an eternal moment in the creative arts. It is an eternal moment in the creative arts in that both the impressionistic artists and Emile Zola utilized in the creation of art the aesthetic of Impressionism and demonstrated that such an aesthetic was a valid base for the creation of art.

Stylistically, literary Naturalism and artistic Impressionism are also synonymous. The technique utilized by Emile Zola to represent verbally the reality he observed and documented is wholly that technique which was utilized by the principal artists of Impressionism, particularly Monet, to refashion reality aesthetically. It is a technique which, in fact, overrides Emile Zola's naturalistic thesis, a thesis founded on the desire to represent reality objectively without the subjective intervention of the author either directly or through the technique utilized in composition. The naturalistic thesis of Emile Zola is, however, overridden in a large part, by the highly subjective impressionistic technique which Zola utilized as a means of aesthetically

refashioning reality. It is an identical technique which Zola acclaimed throughout the decade during which Impressionism fought the traditional academy jury. Zola, in praising the impressionist technique, severely criticized the reality represented thereby, as naive, optimistic and idealized. Impressionism, in short, became the scapegoat of the generation of 1880, a generation which had initially acclaimed the art of Impressionism but which, in the 1880's would or could no longer accept sensation as a basis for art. The material prosperity of the early years of the Third Republic resulted in a general societal hysteria, a hysteria of self-congratulation induced by the significant technical and scientific accomplishments of a generation innundated with scientism and the scientific method. It was a society which acclaimed the pursuit of objective truth as its primary objective. The purely aesthetic objective of Impressionism had, in short, been supplanted by a didactic objective, an objective which was most significantly represented by the prose productions of Emile Zola. That society did not, however, in any instance, reject the impressionistic technique which was utilized by Zola to accomplish his didactic objective.

Yet, just as the art of Impressionism had been the scapegoat of the generation of 1880, so did the Naturalism of Zola become the scapegoat of the generation of 1890. That society, which had ten years earlier acclaimed Zola and his naturalistic thesis, reacted in 1890 adversely to the materialistic and scientific philosophy of Naturalism. Hauser remarks:

The curious thing was that at a time when Naturalism already seemed to have won the day, it was attacked with such bitterness.

What was it that people would not forgive. Naturalism or pretended not to be able to forgive. Naturalism, it was asserted, was an indelicate, indecent and obscene art, the expression of an insipid, materialistic philosophy, the instrument of a clumsy and heavy-handed democratic propaganda, a collection of boring trivia, and vulgar banalities, a representation of reality which in its portrayal of society described only the wild, ravenous, undisciplined animal in man and only his works of destruction; the dissolution of human relationships, the undermining of the family, the nation, and religion, in short, it was destructive, unnatural and hostile to life. 69

Naturalism was then denied existence by the very group which had ten years earlier acclaimed it as the fullest expression of that society's materialistic objectives. Yet, just as the principal critics of the art of Impressionism had not denied or criticized the impressionistic technique (its structural and stylistic principles), so the critics of Naturalism did not deny or criticize the technique of Naturalism. In both instances, the technique utilized is identical--it is an impressionistic technique. In both instances it was not found unsuitable for the creation of art, even though the ideologies, implied or expressed, utilizing this technique were criticized severely. It is a technique which was subsequently adopted and utilized by the principal symbolist poets, who accepted neither the impressionistic nor the naturalistic point of view, but, at the same time, utilized their technique of composition. Hauser underlines this point as follows:

Symbolism, with its optical and acoustic effects, as well as the mixing and combining of different sense data and the reciprocal action between the various art forms, above all, what Mallarmé understood by the "reconquest from music of the property of poetry" is impressionistic. 70

The symbolists at the same time developed to their highest level the figurative techniques that Impressionism utilized as a basis for

69 Hauser, p. 882.

70 Hauser, p. 896.

description, primarily the metaphor:

Symbolism represents the final result of the development which began with Romanticism, that is, the discovery of the metaphor as the germ cell of poetry and which led to the richness of impressionistic imagery. ⁷¹

A preoccupation with the momentary quality of reality was similarly adopted by the symbolist poets, primarily Mallarmé. It is the result of the prevalent negativism of the generation out of which Symbolism emerged. This negativism produced a societal attitude that is not unlike that which was produced in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in France by the final impact of the Enlightenment. In other words, the dominant negativism of the generation of Emile Zola and that of the generation of the French Revolution produced in the following generations an exaggerated idealism or romanticism. Hauser states:

The mood of crisis leads to a renewal of the idealistic and mystical trends and produces a reaction against the prevailing pessimism, a strong tide of faith. It is only in the course of this development that Impressionism loses its connection with Naturalism and becomes transformed, especially in literature, into a new Romanticism. ⁷²

The Romanticism of which Hauser speaks is unquestionably Symbolism. Whereas the romantic poets of the early years of the nineteenth century, when confronted with significant situations endangering their idealized conception of reality, sought refuge in physical movement or flight in an attempt to confront reality, the symbolists sought refuge in the moment itself. It is a type of internal movement. The flight into the moment of the symbolists when represented poetically represents a non-discursive representation of reality. It is a voyage into the unknown and the pure. The sensual moment of the Impressionists was thereby transformed into the moment of poetic creation which serves

⁷¹ Hauser, p. 896

⁷² Hauser, p. 167.

as the key to a non-discursive and pure realm beyond the scope of sensual evidence and experimentation. In so doing, the symbolist poets elevated the figurative language of Impressionism to its highest level in that the metaphor had been liberated from an obligation to represent reality discursively. Hauser states:

Mallarmé's generation discovered the difference between symbol and allegory and made symbolism as a poetic style the conscious aim of its endeavors; it recognized, even though it was not always able to give expression to its insight, that allegory is nothing but the translation of an abstract idea into the form of a concrete image, whereby the idea continues to a certain extent to be independent of its metaphorical expression and could also be expressed in another form, whereas the symbol brings the idea and the image into an invisible unity, so that the transformation of the image also implies the metamorphosis of the idea. In short, the content of a symbol cannot be translated into any other form, but a symbol can, on the other hand, be interpreted in various ways and this variability of the interpretation, the apparent inexhaustibility of the meaning of the symbol, is its most essential characteristic.⁷³

What Mallarmé and the symbolist poets had done was to remove the cathedral from Monet's canvas. Monet's canvases are then no longer allegorical representations of reality. When the cathedral is taken away there remains a type of residue which was, in fact, the principal material of both Impressionism and Symbolism. Impressionism, however, needed the discursive cathedral. Mallarmé, on the other hand, was carried into the realm of the impressionistic residue without the discursive cathedral. Allegorical interpretation was then no longer possible. To the symbolist poets the impressionistic residue was purified language. "The poet must," as Mallarmé said, "give way to the initiative of the words," "he must allow himself to be borne along by the current of language, by the spontaneous succession of images and visions" which implies that language is not only more poetic but

⁷³ Hauser, p. 897.

also more philosophic than reason." ⁷⁴ Language is, in other words, a dynamic process. The restrictions imposed by reason are identical to those imposed on the Rouen Cathedral in Monet's canvases. Yet just as the variations on an impressionistic allegorical motif are limitless, so too are the interpretations made possible by the dynamic process which is symbolist language. In both instances, it is an identical technique.

It becomes increasingly apparent that the principles of art are valuable in the study of literature. It has been through the study of the aesthetic, structural and stylistic principles of Impressionism in art that it has been possible to determine that Emile Zola, the principal naturalistic novelist of the nineteenth century in France, is also an impressionistic novelist. These principles similarly provide a basis for the hypothesis that literary Symbolism is also founded on the aesthetic, structural and stylistic principles of Impressionism in Art, an hypothesis which can only be verified by an examination of symbolist prose and poetry using as a means of elucidation the aesthetic, structural, and stylistic principles of art that characterized that particular historical period.

⁷⁴ Hauser, p. 196.

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A

1324

a very substantial study, carefully worked out.
I, for one, was unaware of the illuminating
parallel. (I trust you are also submitting it
for a French Dept. course)

a few reservations:

Granted, such a topic involves considerable
quotation; even so, you tend to overdo it—
both too often & too lengthy (at least in
regard to secondary sources (modern writers)
often you could compress the latter
&/or paraphrase them; or relegate to
footnotes. The bulk of your text & quotations
should feature primary sources. These
are quite a few pages that verge on being
an anthology of quotes, rather than an
interpretive essay.

Secondly, you tend to over intertwine
your points.

The text on pages 1326-1344 is a revision of the Madame Bovary Chapter of my dissertation.

As I recall, I revised this Chapter, for publication, after having completed my dissertation.

The Renaissance Conception of Space and Art
in the Nineteenth-Century French Novel: Madame Bovary

The fact that the primary spatial and aesthetic principles rudimentarily established during the Italian Renaissance were utilized by the principal painters in the West in the four-hundred-year period from the reintegration of classical form and classical content in the fifteenth century to the formulation of the cubist perspective in the final decades of the nineteenth century has been convincingly documented.¹ That those same principles were utilized in genres other than painting in the same period has, in part, been established.² What we will demonstrate in this examination of Madame Bovary is that the Renaissance conception of space and art, an extremely rich basis for the creation of art which was modified and supplemented according to the particular mode of consciousness and spatio-temporal needs of numerous historical periods, permeates the genre of the novel in France in the nineteenth century. Flaubert, in fact, is the first novelist in France to thoroughly exploit the possibilities of the Renaissance spatial and aesthetic system in the period that that conception of space and art was considered a valid basis for the creation of art. That this is true can be illustrated by examining Madame Bovary in terms of three tendencies--and we call them such advisedly--

characteristic of the Renaissance world view and of much art at that time.³ During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (1) an increasing preoccupation with the study of man, nature, and the relationship between man and the natural world can be noted. At the same time, (2) a new historical consciousness develops which ultimately results in (3) a new structure for art.

The study of man, nature, and the relationship between man and the natural world is not, to be sure, an entirely new development of the Renaissance. The Renaissance point of view with reference to man and nature, however, represents, in many respects, a departure from the medieval perspective. Certain analogies, it is our contention, can be drawn between Seznec's discoveries concerning the pagan divinities during the Middle Ages and during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and between the medieval and Renaissance points of view toward man, nature, and the relationship between man and empirical reality in both periods.⁴ During the Middle Ages, pagan mythology and Christianity are often reconciled, particularly by the Neoplatonists, by means of the allegorical method of interpretation. The pagan gods, as such, are seen as vehicles for the expression of an idea, more often than not, Christian doctrine. Similarly, nature is often seen by medieval man as a vehicle for that same doctrine. Art, then, is the study of man and God and of the

relationship between man and God. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, the mythological tradition is interrupted when the inherited iconographic types for the pagan divinities are abandoned in favor of the classical models. Similarly, during this same period, nature is no longer seen exclusively as a vehicle for the expression of Christian doctrine. The natural world, of which man is considered to be an integral part, is no longer seen as an enigma to be explained by reference to divine laws, but rather as something which man can know by recourse to natural laws. Art, then, becomes the study of man, nature, and the relationship between man and the natural world.

Inasmuch as men of the Renaissance begin to view not only the pagan gods but also nature and man as potential ends in themselves and not as ideological vehicles, it is inevitable that a new historical consciousness--a new conception of time--develops. Again, Seznec's study of the survival of the pagan gods will help to elucidate this point. In reconciling pagan mythology with Christianity, medieval man adapted the pagan gods to contemporary taste and culture. Mercury, for example, is transformed into a bishop by medieval artists. Seen with reference to a concept of time, this transformation of Mercury into a European Christian is revealing. It serves to underline the fact that medieval man, in many instances, makes no real distinction between past time and the present; between, for

example, classical antiquity and the Middle Ages. Renaissance man, however, perceives distinctions in time between, for example, the thirteenth century and classical antiquity--the latter being seen as a totality which is not only historically distant and distinct from the present but also as an ideal time more desirable than the present.⁵ It is this discovery of depth in time which results in the new historical consciousness of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Given the fact that Renaissance man acknowledges that nature and man can be seen as ends in themselves, and given the new historical consciousness of the period, it is not surprising that a new means of portraying or structuring what is perceived is developed. Changes in the formal patterns or structures of art are, in this respect, as Robertson explains in A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives, similar to those in language. Both are representative of "a continuing adaptation of the means of human expression to the needs of a changing cultural environment, and this adaptation involves new ways of formulating what is 'seen' in the world, both concretely and abstractly."⁶ Each age, therefore, has its own vocabulary of patterns. The distinguishing feature of that structural model which characterizes much art at the time of the Renaissance--a feature which sets it apart but not, of course, above the art of the Middle Ages--is the use of the

so-called laws of single viewpoint linear perspective, thought to have been largely the discovery of Paolo Uccello. Unlike much art of the medieval period--a dominant formal convention of which is the tendency to structure in terms of symmetrical patterns characteristically arranged with reference to an abstract hierarchy--much of the art of the Renaissance is structured by the use of single viewpoint linear perspective within a closed geometric space. The symmetrical patterns of medieval art result, it can be argued, from the fact that nature and the natural world, for example, like the pagan divinities, are structured so as to coincide with the Christian world view. The Renaissance type pattern, on the other hand, results from the fact that nature and the natural world are reconciled with Euclidean geometry. In speaking of Dürer's celebrated sky map of 1515 Seznec remarks: "Cette alliance de la vigueur et de la fougue, du calcul et de la vie, caractérise, sans doute, le génie propre de Dürer; mais elle est aussi comme un signe des temps: retrouver à la fois les formes et le savoir des anciens, leur imagination poétique et leur connaissance du monde; concilier comme eux la mythologie et la géométrie, tel sera le rêve des plus grands esprits de la Renaissance."⁷

Such, then, are three dominant tendencies characteristic of the Renaissance world view and of much art at that time. They represent, respectively, the Renaissance point of view

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STRUCTURAL AND STYLISTIC MANIFESTATIONS OF THE AESTHETIC
OF CLAUDE MONET IN LE VENTRE DE PARIS OF EMILE ZOLA

S. Robert Powell

May 6, 1970

1

INTRODUCTION

The literature and art of an age are, by virtue of the similar political, social and religious factors that caused their creation, often closely related. In a movement such as Romanticism the inter-relationships of the creative arts are clearly seen, but they are perhaps more difficult to perceive in artistic movements that have neither the duration nor the motive power of Romanticism. Such were the literary and artistic movements in France from the Second Empire to the end of the century. During that period every aspect of society underwent, in varying degrees, a radical change; a change, as Hauser indicates, "that was more pronounced than in all the centuries since the beginning of modern urban civilization."¹ This reorientation of society produced a subsequent literary and artistic reorientation that can clearly be seen in the literary and artistic artifacts of that period. The Second Empire, which produced the art of Courbet, Flaubert, Corot and Baudelaire, is, at the same time, the society out of which would develop the art of Zola, Degas, Renoir, Manet, Monet and Huysmans, to mention only a few. The apparent diversity of the creations of these post-Romantic artists and writers has resulted in the creation of a multitude of labels invented by literary and art historians in an attempt to offer an explanation of the art and literature created in France during the second half of the nineteenth century. These labels--Realism in literature, Realism in art, Naturalism in literature, Impressionism in art, Symbolism in literature--obscure and in many cases deny the presence of

¹Arnold Hauser, The Social History of Art Vol. 4. (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1951), p. 62.

similarities in style and technique among these post-Romantic artists and writers. This is particularly true with what has been called Naturalism in literature, as exemplified in the novels of Emile Zola, and Impressionism in art, as exemplified in the canvases of Claude Monet.²

It is the contention of this study that Zola's literary Naturalism and Monet's artistic Impressionism are not unrelated movements in the creative arts. In an attempt to demonstrate that the works of Monet and Zola are, in fact, constructed on the basis of an identical aesthetic and with similar structural and stylistic devices, the principles of art history are useful. Helmut Hatzfeld views this means of analysis "as imperative in those cases where literary texts may contain structural elements that would perhaps remain obscure without the elucidation of the arts of design."³ To approach a literary text by using the principles of art is perhaps more

² As early as 1878 Duret pointed out that Monet was the impressionist, par excellence. Subsequent critical opinion has borne out this contemporary observation. In 1943 Maurice Malingue (Claude Monet. Les Documents d'Art, Monaco, p. 11) remarked: "Quand on parle de l'Impressionnisme, le nom de Claude Monet vient immédiatement à l'esprit. C'est que pendant le cours de sa longue existence, le grand artiste fut le seul des peintres groupés sous cette désignation à poursuivre l'application des théories du mouvement jusqu'à l'extrême limite des possibilités picturales et humaines. De tous les peintres qui participèrent aux combats de l'époque héroïque, Claude Monet est donc le seul qui représente véritablement l'Impressionnisme." Similar remarks were made by William Seitz in 1960 in reference to Monet's influence on the post-Impressionists (Claude Monet. The Library of Great Painters, 1960, p. 10): "Indeed, Monet's reputation seems to have fluctuated along with that of Impressionism in general, and during the thirties and forties the direction was usually downward, for historical accounts were so often couched negatively: the achievements of Renoir, Cézanne, Van Gogh, Seurat, Gauguin were alleged to have hinged on their rejection of the formlessness of Impressionism. But seldom during those years was the opposite side of the coin pointed out: that each of the post-Impressionists had his origin in Impressionism, that what they had in common was, more than any one thing, the example of Monet."

³ Helmut Hatzfeld, Literature Through Art (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1952), p. 211.

useful when dealing with periods of history characterized by a tendency towards Realism, for it is in the plastic arts, as Hourticq explains, that this tendency, i. e. Realism, is always first expressed:

Ce sont les oeuvres de la plastique qui forment le goût, fixent le jugement esthétique--qui plus que la nature établissent une norme pour nos jugements de vérité et de beauté. Cette correspondance du style d'une école et du goût d'une génération trouve sa confirmation dans les témoignages littéraires. Deux catégories de monuments nous renseignent sur les variations de l'esthétique collective, les oeuvres des artistes et celles des écrivains. Il apparaît alors, avec évidence, que dans les époques d'invention pittoresque ou plastique, c'est des ateliers que partent les initiatives et non des jeux philosophiques; les formes naissent du métier et non de la pensée; créer, c'est réaliser une idée, mais c'est la main qui la cherche et quand l'esprit la reconnaît, c'est après qu'une main l'a découverte. Les littérateurs réalistes et descriptives ne peuvent fleurir que sur un public formé à l'observation des images de la nature ou de l'art par les arts figurés--alors, le lecteur retrouve dans les mots ses réminiscences visuelles.⁴

A certain chronological discrepancy is therefore often noted among the creative arts in periods of Realism. Hauser underlines this point as follows: "The most productive period of a realistic form of art is often completely past when the ramifications of the painterly stylistics and aesthetics begin to emerge in literature."⁵ Such is the case with Impressionism in literature in the nineteenth century in France.

A precise understanding of the the aesthetic and stylistic principles of Impressionism in art, principles with which Emile Zola was doubtless familiar, and which, in all probability, were fundamental in the formation of Zola's own stylistic and aesthetic principles, is,

⁴ Louis Hourticq, L'Art et la littérature (Paris: Flammarion, 1946), pp. 26-37.

⁵ Hauser, p. 880.

Zola's views began forming before "impressionism" (a style limited to the 1870s & early 80s.)

therefore, essential in order to understand the novelistic technique of Emile Zola.⁶ For it is only by a systematic and careful analysis of the aesthetic and stylistic principles of the artistic media that a valid correlation of the fine arts in any period can be made. The conclusion of this study may show that Emile Zola, considered the most important naturalistic writer in the nineteenth century in France, utilized in the creation of his novels a technique not unlike that utilized by Claude Monet.

⁶ It is beyond the scope of this study to give a detailed account of Emile Zola's affiliations with Claude Monet, the Impressionists and their art. Sufficient documents exist which reveal that throughout the period 1865-1880 Zola maintained his enthusiasm for Impressionism, an art which he championed so ardently in the early 1860's and upon which he made impossible demands in the 1880's. During the decade in which the art of Impressionism fought the traditional jury of the Academy, Zola published four complete Salons and four reviews of major exhibitions, both independent and public, all of which acclaimed the art of Impressionism. For more information on Zola's affiliations with the artists of Impressionism and their art, the following works are recommended: 1. John Rewald, The History of Impressionism (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1961, pp. 144, 189, 362, 387, 412, 445, 534. 2. Henri Mitterand, Zola: journaliste (Paris: Colin, 1962). 3. F. W. J. Hemmings, "Zola, Manet et les impressionnistes," PMLA Sept. 1958, pp. 407-17. 4. Emile Zola, Salons (Geneva, Droz, 1959) 5. Lionello Venturi, Les Archives de l'impressionnisme II (Paris: Durand-Ruel, 1939, pp. 274-75, 76-80. 6. Jacques Lethève, Impressionnistes et Symbolistes devant la presse (Paris: Colin, 1959) pp. 35-46, 113-117.

Impressionism not yet born in 1865

TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF ARTISTIC IMPRESSIONISM

Impressionism in art as an historical phenomenon has been clearly defined. It represents the artistic effort of a relatively small group of artists in France during the last third of the nineteenth century, particularly the period between 1874-1886, the years of the first and last Impressionistic exhibitions.⁷ Yet to consider Impressionism in art solely as an historical phenomenon is, in a sense, to deny its essence. Impressionism is, at the same time, an aesthetic phenomenon, which coinciding with the historical phenomenon of Impressionism produced an eternal moment in art. In other words, the principal artists of Impressionism utilized in the creation of art the aesthetic and stylistic principles of Impressionism during the historical period generally considered as being the age of Impressionism. A writer such as Gide, for example, utilized what may be called a "classical" aesthetic in an historical period that is not generally considered by literary historians as the age of Classicism. Gide, therefore, does not represent the phenomenon of Classicism in entirety since the historical and aesthetic phenomena of Classicism do not coincide. As such, Gide's "classicism" is not pure, that is, it is not founded on the aesthetic and stylistic principles of the seventeenth century since it has been colored by the historical difference. The Impressionism of the late nineteenth century, on the other hand, represents an eternal moment in art in that the aesthetic and historical phenomena of Impressionism both coincide.

⁷ The definition of Impressionism offered in this study is derived from an examination of the principal works of Claude Monet. When the term Impressionism is used herein it refers to the Impressionism of Monet. This does not preclude the possibility that it might be valid for other artists of Impressionism. Monet, however, is our primary concern.

Fundamental to the aesthetic of Impressionism is a philosophy of movement that closely resembles that of the Greek philosopher Heraclitus, who maintained that the universe is constantly changing and that the only constant is change itself. The Heraclitian symbol of flux, fire, was interpreted by the Impressionists as a flow of water, a river, as expressed by Leibniz, into which you cannot step twice. Donald McGinn, in underlining the Leibnizian concept of flux as the basis of Impressionism, views the art of Impressionism as a type of Proustian recreation of the past:

As the river of time constantly flows on the present moment is irretrievably lost, except perhaps in memory. Thus the moment of inspiration that the artist experiences will never return, but through his art he has the power to give it a permanence that it could never actually possess--not the permanence of fact but rather the permanence of a momentary sensation forever captured in the work of art itself.⁸

Unlike Proust, however, the moment captured by the Impressionists is not a moment whose characteristics are determined by memory, but rather by an entirely perceptual or sensory experience, an "impression". The means utilized by the Impressionists to liberate themselves from the influence of memory, as W. O. Seitz has determined, were reflections:

It has been well said by W. O. Seitz that for the Impressionists, "reflections became a means of shaking off the world assembled by memory in favour of a world perceived momentarily by the senses. In reflections the artifices so important to workaday life are transformed into abstract elements in a world of pure vision."⁹

It is for this reason that W. O. Seitz has stated that Monet's The River, 1868, is Monet's first picture which reproduces the effect

⁸ Donald McGinn, Literature as a Fine Art (White Plains: Peterson, 1959), p. 303.

⁹ Phoebe Pool, Impressionism (New York: Praeger, 1967), p.86.

of a momentary glance. He states:

The River is one of the first of Monet's works that can properly be described as in impression. Its aspect denotes a wholly perceptual experience: the color areas are flat and simple, as though observed only for a moment or through half-closed eyes. Except for the figure seated on the bank, the entire foreground is a perforated screen of cool shadow behind which the glittering sky, shore and river seem suspended. The tree trunks are flat bars rather than columns, and the one at the left is broken by the spotting of sun through leaves; the foliage is a green and yellow tapestry of which the smallest unit is a brush stroke rather than an individual leaf. Objects which Monet chose to emphasize (such as the rowboat) are described with ease and precision; but to other detail (such as the clothing spread on Camille's lap) he gives little attention. Only gradually, and never positively, does one discover that the spots of color across the river and between the tree trunks are boats and human figures--as if Monet had recorded what struck his eyes without pausing to identify it. 10

This canvas, as well as the majority of those Monet would paint throughout the rest of his life, thus represent a unique moment in the perpetuum mobile. It is the triumph of the momentary over the permanent, it is the representation of a unique moment selected from a dynamic and constantly changing reality--a reality wherein chance is the principle of all being and wherein the truth of the moment invalidates all other truths. This is the lesson which Monet early learned from Boudin in Le Havre. It was Boudin who first recommended to Monet that he paint directly from nature and in so doing avoid the static and somewhat artificial world of memory. Malingue underlines this point as follows:

Boudin apporte à Monet la révélation immédiate, foudroyante de la peinture. "Tout ce qui est peint directement, et sur place, lui disait-il, a toujours une force, une puissance, une vivacité qu'on ne retrouve plus dans l'atelier. 11

¹⁰ William G. Seitz, Claude Monet (New York: Abrams, 1960), p. 78.

¹¹ Maurice Malingue, Claude Monet (Monaco: Les Documents D'Art, 1943), p. 12.

W. O. Seitz similarly underlines this point:

Quite simply, Boudin put forward Impressionism's cardinal principle, thus elevating the sketch--with the inevitable premium that it places on concentrated observation and rapid execution--to the status of a completed work of art.¹²

An early manifestation of this lesson learned from Boudin is the Déjeuner sur l'herbe, 1865-66, which, although completed in the studio because of its great size (15 by 20 feet), represents a successful attempt by Monet to produce a life-sized figure composition that would be truer to nature than those of earlier artists. The dynamism of this sunlit forest landscape demonstrates clearly that Monet, unlike Manet, successfully integrated the figures with the landscape. This is true primarily because of the fact that Monet executed studies for the final work not in the studio, but rather sur place. Other canvases, which clearly give evidence of the fact they were painted in front of the motif represented, from Monet's early period are Women in the Garden, 1866-67, The Seine at Bougival, 1869 and On The Beach, Trouville, 1870. Seitz, in fact, has determined that the 1870 painting The Beach, Trouville has particles of sand in the paint itself. Boudin, then, not only helped Monet to liberate himself from the world of memory, but also started what Monet himself would call in 1891 his "search of the impossible,"¹³ the momentary presentation of reality.

A preoccupation with the momentary as opposed to the permanent, the fundamental aesthetic principle of Impressionism, has been underlined by Hauser as the basic experience of the nineteenth century.¹⁴

¹² Seitz, *op. cit.*, 12.

¹³ Seitz, p. 36.

¹⁴ Hauser, p. 925.

Emile Zola, perhaps the most influential critic of the art of Impressionism, similarly recognized the importance of the momentary in the art of Impressionism. He stated: "On doit saisir la nature dans l'impressionnisme d'une minute. Il faut fixer à jamais cette minute sur la toile."¹⁵

The manner utilized by the impressionists to represent in a work of art a fleeting moment chosen from the perpetuum of time was dictated primarily by the historical situation in France following the establishment of the Second Empire, the "moment" in Taine's conception of the term. It was an age during which an emphasis was beginning to be placed, in spite of the oppressive propagandistic machinery of the Empire, on the simple and the ordinary, and not on the monumental and the exceptional. With the establishment of the Third Republic, the monumental and the exceptional would be banished from art almost completely. These societal reorientations are clearly reflected in the republican and bourgeois-directed art of Impressionism. One need only compare the deliberately historical and aristocracy-directed Sword Dance of Gérôme and Fantin-Latour's Julia, Daughter of Augustus, Returning from a Night's Debauche with the unpretentious canvases of the impressionists (The following paintings of Monet, for example: Argenteuil Bridge, 1874; Duck Pond, 1873; Impression, Fog, 1872; Apple Trees in Bloom, 1878; The Village Street, Vétheuil, 1878; Poplars on the Epte, 1890) to realize the almost banal quality of the subjects chosen by the impressionistic artists. The contemporary

¹⁵ Emile Zola, "Le Naturalisme au Salon" Le Voltaire, June 18-22, 1880. Reported by Lionello Venturi, Les Archives de l'impressionnisme. Vol. II (Paris: Durand-Ruel, 1939), p. 279.

scene was their only subject matter. A letter from Bazille to his parents in 1866 clearly demonstrates the impressionists' belief that only empirical reality is a fit subject for art:

I have tried to paint as well as I can the simplest possible subjects. In my opinion the subject matters little provided that what I do is interesting as painting. I have chosen to paint our own age because this is what I understand the best, because it is more alive, and because I am painting for living people. So, of course, my pictures will be rejected.¹⁶

Developping concurrently with a preoccupation with the ordinary was an age of technology and science which would significantly transform what had formerly been primarily cultural centers into industrial cities in our modern sense of the term. The city would become a huge, sprawling organism inhabited by the masses of humanity, the lower bourgeoisie--men who were becoming fully cognizant of their role in a huge and intricate urban machine. The cities, as Hauser indicates, form the soil in which the new art of Impressionism is rooted:

But own urban scenes for out number urban motif
Impressionism is an urban art and not only because it discovers the landscape quality of the city and brings painting back from the country to the town, but because it sees the world through the eyes of the townsmen who reacts to external impressions with the overstrained nerves of a modern technical man. It is an urban style, for it describes the changeability, the nervous rhythm, the sudden, sharp, but always ephemeral impression of city life.¹⁷

Monet's series of canvases of the Saint-Lazare railroad station in Paris, painted during the winter of 1876-77, clearly illustrates the importance of urban motifs in his art, particularly in the period before 1880, as well as what can be called Monet's urban style. Monet's skill in depicting different atmospheric conditions and times of day by means of rapid brush strokes, executed in front of the motif, is underlined by Mount as follows:

¹⁶ Pool, p. 92.

¹⁷ Hauser, p. 871.

Thin slabs of color flowed smoothly from his sable brushes, coming together loosely on the canvas between a buff-toned webbing of bare cloth. At times the paint surface, hammered at by a steady crescendo of strokes, linked up into a unified globulated whole, achieving a new and varied beauty of shimmering, crystalline texture. The often disjointed sketcher's technique seen at Argenteuil showed signs of developing further into a heavily daubed, floating disphaneous surface, weaving a kind of descriptive orchestral tapestry that evoked place and atmosphere, light and shadow, so vividly that each scene (of the Gare Saint-Lazare series) was presented to the mind's eye in all its subtle detail.¹⁸

This series of canvases of the Gare Saint-Lazare, as well as the majority of those executed by Monet after 1866, represent, as Hauser has shown, the two basic feelings which life in an urban and suburban environment produces, the feeling of being alone and unobserved on the one hand, and the impression of roaring traffic, incessant movement and constant variety on the other--a feeling not unlike that expressed by Baudelaire in that section of Les Fleurs du Mal entitled "Tableaux parisiens", nor unlike the sensation expressed by Apollinaire in the cubist poem "Zone." Such an environment leads to what Hauser has called "a fundamentally passive outlook on life,"¹⁹ that is, a world view founded on the realization that the world of experience is not permanent. The artist of Impressionism is then a spectator, an observer of a dynamic world who willingly submits to the chronological structure of empirical reality; he is non-involved, receptive and, in some respects, contemplative.

From such a standpoint the artists of Impressionism understood or perhaps saw more clearly the myriad effects of the developing age of technology and science that they witnessed around them. Monet, in fact, through his artistic vision, not only independently confirmed,

¹⁸ Charles Merrill Mount, Monet (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), p. 279.

¹⁹ Hauser, p. 873.

but unknowingly illustrated the optical and chromatic laws arrived at by Helmholtz and Chevreul. Mauclair states:

Claude Monet, continuant Claude Lorrain et Turner, aura et le mérite et l'originalité d'ouvrir à la peinture une route nouvelle, en tirant de l'étude des lois de la lumière des constatations scientifiques. Son oeuvre est une magnifique vérification des découvertes faites en optique par Helmholtz et par Chevreul. Elle est née spontanément de la vision de l'artiste, et elle se trouve être une démonstration rigoureuse de principes que le peintre ne s'est probablement jamais soucié de connaître. Par la puissance de ses facultés, l'artiste s'est trouvé rejoindre la science. Son oeuvre est donc, non seulement la base elle-même du mouvement impressionniste proprement dit, mais encore de tout ce qui l'a suivi et le suivra dans l'étude des lois dites chromatiques. ²⁰

These optical and chromatic laws, the cardinal principles of the technique of Impressionism, were fully illustrated by Monet and Renoir in the late summer of 1869 when they painted near the Seine at Bougival. It was there that Monet and Renoir made their discovery that the notions of form and color are inseparable. Camille Mauclair explains this point as follows:

Dans la nature, aucune couleur n'existe par elle-même. La coloration des objets est une pure illusion. La seule source créatrice des couleurs est la lumière solaire qui enveloppe toutes choses et les révèle, selon les heures, avec d'innombrables modifications. Le mystère de la matière nous échappe, nous ignorons à quel moment exact la réalité se sépare de l'irréalité. Tout ce que nous savons, c'est que notre vision a pris l'habitude de discerner dans l'univers deux notions, la forme et la couleur, mais ces deux notions sont inséparables. Ce n'est que artificiellement que nous distinguons entre le dessin et la coloration; dans la nature ils ne se distinguent pas. La lumière révèle les formes, et se jouant sur les différents états de la matière, leur donne des colorations dissemblables. Si la lumière disparaît, formes et couleurs s'évanouissent ensemble. Nous ne voyons que des couleurs, tout à une couleur, et c'est par la perception des diverses couleurs frappant nos yeux que nous concevons les formes, c'est-à-dire les limitations de ces couleurs. . . La couleur est donc génératrice du dessin. ²¹

²⁰ Camille Mauclair, Les maîtres de l'impressionnisme (Paris: Librairie Ollendorff, 1903), p. 56.

²¹ Mauclair, pp. 22-23.

A realization that the notions of form and color are inseparable and that they are both determined entirely by light must necessarily have important consequences in art. They can be summarized as follows:

1. ATMOSPHERE, NOT "LOCAL COLOR", IS THE REAL SUBJECT OF A PAINTING.

Camille Mauclair explains this point in the following manner:

Ce qu'on appelait jadis le "ton local" est une erreur: une feuille n'est pas verte, un tronc d'arbre n'est pas brun, et selon les heures, le vert de la feuille et le brun de l'arbre se modifient. Ce qu'il faut donc étudier sur ces objets, si l'on veut rappeler leur couleur à qui regarde un tableau, c'est la composition de l'atmosphère qui s'interpose entre eux et le regard. L'atmosphère est le sujet réel du tableau, tout ce qui y est représenté n'existe qu'à travers elle. ²²

Monet's Westminster Bridge, 1871, is a splendid example of a painted atmosphere. Unlike the Beach at Sainte-Adresse, 1867, this scene of the Thames is permeated by an atmosphere which precludes the painting of intellectually perceived or abstract color and form. Seitz describes the atmospheric quality of this canvas as follows:

This evocative riverscape (Westminster Bridge, 1871) is one of the finest examples of Monet's work during his wartime stay in England. . . In sharp contrast to the Dutch canvases of the same year, its color scheme is one of atmospheric unity rather than opposition. Every square inch of surface is permeated by the tremulous mist--at once gold, pink, green, and violet--that transforms the stone of the distant buildings into delicate patterns of warm or cold blue and the bridge into a soft, rhythmic extension of the horizontals of the wharf. ²³

II. SHADOWS ARE COLORED.

Mauclair offers the following explanation:

L'ombre n'est pas une absence de lumière, mais une lumière d'une autre qualité et d'une autre valeur. L'ombre n'est pas un endroit du paysage où la lumière cesse, mais où elle est subordonnée à une lumière qui nous paraît plus intense. Dans l'ombre vibrent à une vitesse différente les

²² Mauclair, p. 24.

²³ Seitz, p. 88.

rayons du spectre. La peinture donc, au lieu de représenter l'ombre avec des tons tout faits, dérivés du bitume et du noir, devra rechercher là, comme dans les parties claires, le jeu des atomes de la lumière solaire. ²⁴

Monet's skill in the painting of colored shadows is well illustrated in his riverscapes (The Seine at Bougival, 1869; La Grenouillère, 1869; The Bridge at Argenteuil, 1874) and in his snowscapes (The Magpie, 1867-70; Snow Effect at Vétheuil, 1878). It was through their study of the effects of sunlight on snow and water, as Rouart has determined, that taught the impressionists that shadows were colored. He states: "Their study of the effects of sunlight on snow (paralleling their study of sunlight on water) led them to discover, empirically, the fact that shadows too are charged with color. The whiteness of the new-fallen snow provided an ideal ground for subtle variations of color." ²⁵ Seitz aptly describes the shadows in The Magpie, 1867-70, as follows: "Frigid sunlight falling on the powdery drift in the palest of yellows, pinks, and violets delineates its surface in geometric shadows that are immaculate in their blueness and transparency." ²⁶

III. COLORS ARE MODIFIED BY REFRACTION.

Again, it is Camille Mauclair who offers an explanation of this new conception of color arrived at by Monet and Renoir while painting together at Bougival:

Les couleurs dans l'ombre se modifient par la réfraction. C'est-à-dire que, par exemple, dans un tableau représentant un intérieur, la source de lumière (une fenêtre) peut n'être pas indiquée: la lumière circulant dans le tableau sera donc

²⁴ Mauclair, p. 25.

²⁵ Denis Rouart, Claude Monet (Paris: Skira, 1958), p. 41.

²⁶ Seitz, p. 76.

composée des reflets des rayons dont on ne voit pas la source, et tous les objets, étant des miroirs où ces reflets viennent se heurter, s'influenceront mutuellement de ces chocs. Leurs couleurs influenceront les unes sur les autres, même si leurs surfaces sont ternes. Un grès rouge posé sur un tapis bleu pretextera un échange très subtil, mais absolument mathématique, entre ce bleu et ce rouge, et cet échange des ondes lumineuses créera entre les deux couleurs une zone de reflets composés de l'une et d'autre. Ces reflets composites constitueront une gamme de tonalités complémentaires des deux principales. Ces couleurs complémentaires sont possibles à évaluer mathématiquement en optique. ²⁷

The beginnings of Monet's understanding of this impressionistic technique can be seen rather early in his career. As early as 1866-67 it can be seen illustrated in Women in the Garden, wherein the face of the seated figure is, as Seitz has determined, "illuminated from below by a blue reflection from her white gown." ²⁸ That is to say, the flesh tones of the face of the seated figure assume, in places, a bluish tonality in that they are within the chromatic milieu of the blue reflection on the white gown. A more complete illustration of the principle of refracted color is found in Le Grenouillère, 1869, and The Bridge at Argenteuil, 1874. In the former, the juxtaposition of separate strokes of unblended colors utilized by Monet to represent the water, particularly in the immediate foreground, results in a dynamic field of sparkling color. The application of separate strokes of varying shades of yellow, blue and green produces a field of color composed of these colors as well as their complementaries. Monet has thereby created a sensation of movement and quivering light. The same effect is produced in The Bridge at Argenteuil, 1874. The broken strokes of pure color utilized in the representation of the water

²⁷ Mauclair, p. 25.

²⁸ Seitz, p. 70.

— You over rely on this dated source.
A newer up-to-date study is
Jean Leymarie's (1955)

produce an altogether momentary presentation of reality, that is to say, an impression. This quality of Monet's art was early recognized by Emile Zola, who in the late 1860's remarked:

Il est si facile, si tentant de faire de la jolie couleur avec de l'eau, du ciel, et du soleil, qu'on doit remercier le peintre qui consent à se priver d'un succès certain en peignant les vagues telles qu'il les a vues... Tout le monde connaît ce peintre officiel de marines qui ne peut peindre une vague sans en tirer un feu d'artifice. Vous rappelez-vous ces triomphants coups de soleil changeant la mer en gélée de groseille, ces vaisseaux empanachés par les feux de Bengale d'un astre de féerie? Hélas! Claude Monet n'a pas de ces gentillesse-là! 29

All of the above consequences which Monet and Renoir derived from the realization that the notions of form and color are inseparable and that they are both determined entirely by light are manifested in the canvases created by Monet and Renoir in the late summer of 1869. It is for this reason that Anne Pool has called the year 1869 one of the most significant years in the history of Impressionism. She states:

Although one cannot say definitely that the Impressionist movement was launched in any particular year, since its genesis was inevitably gradual, the year 1869, during which Renoir and Monet were painting together at Bougival, may, perhaps, be called the most decisive... Although five years were to pass before the first Impressionist exhibition was held and the movement acquired its name, in fact, Impressionism was already born. 30

The specific nature of the moments captured by Monet and Renoir in their canvases by means of their impressionistic technique is determined wholly by their conception of empirical reality. Their art corresponds to the aesthetic experience described by Kant, wherein "pleasure is related to the simple apprehension of the form of an object without referring this apprehension to a certain knowledge,

²⁹ Daniel Wildenstein, Monet: Impressions (Lausanne: International Art Book, no date), p. 7.

³⁰ Pool, pp. 54-56.

the representation does not refer to the object but only to the subject." ³¹ Inherent in this definition of the aesthetic experience described by Kant are two of the fundamental characteristics of the impressionistic moment--an anti-intellectual ideal and a search for beauty. Rewald's remarks in reference to the ten views of the Gare Saint-Lazare, 1876-77, are, in this connection, very revealing:

Duranty might have hailed in these works the conquest of one of the most typical scenes of modern life--a scene never before treated by artists--had it not been that Monet's approach was devoid of any social consciousness. He found in the railroad station a pretext rather than an end in itself; he discovered and probed the pictorial aspects of machinery but did not comment upon its ugliness or usefulness or beauty, nor upon its relationship to man. ³²

Impressionism is, then, unlike religious art, neither didactic nor utilitarian. As such the art of Impressionism represents an enthusiastic search for beauty. This beauty, the impressionists believed, was to be found in the transitory contemporary scene: "Ils recherchent dans l'apparence mobile une éternité. Elle est cachée partout cette beauté qu'ils poursuivent et ils sont les premiers à la découvrir." ³³ In so doing they discovered, as Venturi states, "a new form of beauty where it had not been believed that beauty existed."³⁴ The immediate satisfaction they experienced in dealing with such a fluid and dynamic reality resulted in their finding, as Venturi explains, "a new form of appearance without pretending that their form of appearance was the form of reality."³⁵ As artists espousing an anti-intellectual

³¹ Oscar Reutersvard, "The Accentuated Brush Stroke of the Impressionists," Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism (Baltimore: Waverly Press, March 1952), p. 277.

³² Rewald, p. 379.

³³ Ruth Moser, L'Impressionnisme français (Genève: Droz, 1952), p. 275.

³⁴ Lionello Venturi, Art Criticism Now (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1941), p. 111.

³⁵ Venturi, p. 112.

ideal, the attainment of beauty was their only preoccupation. They found, therefore, in empirical reality, unlimited subject matter. This is true in that the true subject of their paintings is light. This point is substantiated by Mauclair as follows:

La lumière est l'unique sujet du tableau: l'intérêt des objets est secondaire. La peinture ainsi comprise devient un art absolument optique, une recherche d'harmonies, une sorte de poème naturel tout à fait distinct de l'expression du style, du dessin qui ont été les buts capitaux de la peinture précédente et il faut presque inventer un autre nom pour cet art spécial, qui, tout en étant pleinement pictural, se rapproche autant de la musique qu'il s'éloigne de la littérature.³⁶

The same motif could then be painted repeatedly since at no two moments of its existence would it be bathed in an identical light and atmosphere. Monet's series of paintings of the same motif (The Facade of the Rouen Cathedral, The Houses of Parliament, The Haystacks near Giverny, The Poplars on the Epte, Venice, and The Water Lilies)³⁷ which Seitz defines as "sequential cycles of light, weather or season,"³⁷ brilliantly exemplify Monet's relentless pursuit of the pagentry of light. It is for this reason that Pool has referred to Monet's series as "the very essence of Impressionism."³⁸ Seitz concurs when he states: "Monet was more of an impressionist in 1900 on the Thames than he was in Argenteuil. As his feverish scramble for the appropriate canvas proves, he was not representing a process of change but painting against time with the goal of eternalizing the instant."³⁹ The instants which Monet sought to eternalize were, as his paintings of the Saint-Lazare railroad station demonstrate, presented exclusively for their pictorial quality and without any didactic intentions. Monet's

³⁶ Mauclair, p. 28.

³⁷ William Seitz, Claude Monet: Seasons and Moments (New York: Museum of Modern Art, March 1960), p. 11.

³⁸ Pool, p. 227.

³⁹ Seitz, Claude Monet: Seasons and Moments, p. 34.

canvases were thus criticized by Emile Zola as naive and incomplete. In an article in Le Voltaire in June 1880 Zola, after almost ten years silence with reference to the art of Impressionism, remarked:

Le grand malheur c'est que pas un artiste de ce groupe n'a réalisé puissamment et définitivement la formule nouvelle qu'ils apportent tous épaisse dans leurs oeuvres. La formule est là, divisée à l'infini; mais nulle part dans aucun d'eux on ne la trouve appliquée par un maître. On peut leur reprocher leur impuissances personnelles, ils n'en sont pas moins les véritables ouvriers du siècle. Ils ont bien des trous, ils lâchent trop souvent leur facture, ils se montrent incomplets et impuissants; il leur suffit de travailler au naturalisme contemporain pour se mettre à la tête d'un mouvement et pour jouer un rôle considérable dans notre école de peinture.⁴⁰

Zola, in praising their technique, criticized the reality that the impressionists portrayed as incomplete and unfinished. Yet from the impressionists' point of view their canvases were finished; for they had changed traditional form in order to find a form adopted to their coloring. They arrived at a simultaneous vision of space and color and in order to eternalize that vision they elevated what had formerly been considered as sketches to completed works of art. It was this quality of incompleteness that caused their immense popularity; ironically, it was at the same time the cause of their subsequent failure. For Impressionism failed as Zola had predicted it would:

Ce sont tous des précurseurs, l'homme de génie n'est pas né. On voit bien ce qu'il veulent, on leur donne raison, mais on cherche en vain le chef-d'oeuvre qui doit imposer la formule et faire combler toutes les têtes. Voilà pourquoi la lutte des impressionnistes n'est pas encore abouti; ils restent inférieurs à l'oeuvre qu'ils tentent, ils bégayent sans pouvoir trouver le mot... Il ne reste plus si l'on veut avancer encore qu'à se remettre à l'étude des réalités et à tâcher à les voir dans des conditions de vérité plus grandes. Tous leurs efforts doivent tendre à rendre leurs oeuvres

⁴⁰ Reported in Lionello Venturi, Les Archives de l'impressionnisme, p. 280.

plus fortes, plus vivantes en donnant l'impression complète des figures et des milieux. ⁴¹

Yet Impressionism could not by its very definition fulfill the requirements imposed by Zola, for he had imposed on their art demands that were totally foreign to their aesthetic. Zola, imbued with the crusading zeal of a reformer, insisted that art be related to a concept of history; the impressionists, on the other hand, painted, as Werner Hofman⁴² aptly states, the eternal world of a dream:

The seventies were not a happy time for France; the political upheaval had left behind a legacy of discomfort, doubt, and pessimism. The country's economic recovery was slow. The people's *joie de vivre* seemed to be clouded over, if not crushed. Nothing of all this is to be seen in the work of the impressionists. The war and its consequences seem to have left them untouched. This fact is well worth noting, all the more so since privately these artists were by no means lacking in patriotism. Everything that was confused, or at war with its surroundings, darkly adventurous or grossly sensual, everything that was in a bad sense "exciting" was, as Stifter has pointed out, excluded from their art. The war and history in general had as little place in it as had death, disease or natural catastrophes... They painted a world that had recovered its kindness and joy, but it was the world of a dream. ⁴²

Unloading Coal, 1872, seems, at first glance, to be then the anti-thesis of Monet's Impressionism. Yet, as Seitz has determined, it is typically impressionistic:

Les déchargeurs de charbon is unique in its depiction of labor. Such a theme could be expected from Pissarro or the socially conscious Neo-Impressionist Maximilian Luce, but not for Monet, who, though he held certain controversial social views, devoted his art to entirely aesthetic and naturalistic ends. Nevertheless, the heavy coal barges, the regimented files of stevedores, the overcast sky, and the smoking factory chimneys, resemble the industrialized Argenteuil of today more than the smiling suburb that Monet customarily portrayed; yet, taken in context, it would appear that aesthetic rather than sociological concerns explain even this exceptional work. It relates itself to two interlaced threads of Monet's development: the first, climaxed by the Thames and Venice scenes, in his predisposition to strong horizontals and verticals; the

⁴¹ P. W. J. Hemmings, Zola (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 416.

⁴² Werner Hofman, Art in the Nineteenth Century, p. 317.

second, in his attraction to Japanese design... The scene is enacted, moreover, before a subtle and wonderfully atmospheric river scene. It is color and rhythmic spacing rather than a social message that is Monet's true subject.⁴³

For Emile Zola, then, as well as for the bourgeoisie, Impressionism had failed. Impressionism, the artistic symbol of the rise of a class to human consciousness, was, in the end, denied existence and rejected by the very group which had encouraged its creation, the bourgeoisie. It is one of the ironies of history that Emile Zola, considered the greatest exponent of literary Naturalism in France in the nineteenth century, unconsciously utilized in the composition of his novelistic series Les Rougon-Macquart the very structural and stylistic principles of the art whose aestheticism he so vehemently attacked in 1880. An examination of Le Ventre de Paris of Emile Zola, both as a naturalistic novel and as an impressionistic novel will verify this point.

⁴³ Seitz, p. 94.

LE VENTRE DE PARIS: A NATURALISTIC NOVEL

Le Ventre de Paris, published in 1873, two years after La Fortune des Rougon and La Curée, is an early yet complete expression of the mature naturalistic thesis of Emile Zola. Fundamental to this thesis, as is well known, is the Traité de l'hérédité naturelle of Prosper Lucas. This treatise provided Zola with "une carte d'identité héréditaire d'une famille," the Rougon-Macquart, living under the Second Empire; a family, which, it would appear, is united only in the sense that they all share a common ancestry. Proof of the disintegration of Zola's novelistic family is seen in the fact that in each of the novels, with the exception of the first of the series, La Fortune des Rougon, which serves as a type of prologue wherein the main actors, are introduced before the main action begins, and the last, Le Docteur Pascal, which serves as an epilogue to the series, Zola treats as main characters only one or two members of the Rougon-Macquart family. In Le Ventre de Paris, wherein heredity appears to be the only link tying the novel to the others in the series, Zola imagines Claude Lantier as a youth between the ages of sixteen and nineteen. He would later appear as the hero of L'Oeuvre and as a seven year old boy in L'Assommoir. In Le Ventre de Paris, Claude Lantier is an artist, the son of Gervaise Macquart and Auguste Lantier, who, living in the area near the central markets of Paris in order to paint "des vastes natures mortes," encounters Florent, a republican wrongfully deported after the coup d'état of 1851. Florent has clandestinely returned to Paris, where, during his exile, his half-brother Quenu, (the husband of Lisa Macquart, who is the aunt of Claude Lantier and daughter of the hero of La Fortune des Rougon), has been growing steadily richer and at the same time fatter as the Empire prospers.

Florent, unable to adjust his temperament to the atmosphere of satiety created by the Second Empire, begins a somewhat amateurish conspiracy to overthrow the government, is denounced by the inhabitants of the quartier des Halles, including his sister-in-law, Lisa Quenu, and is deported once again. Le Ventre de Paris is the story of Florent, yet he is a member of the Rougon-Macquart family only by marriage, that is he is Lisa Quenu's brother-in-law. Nevertheless, Florent is treated by the author as though he were a direct descendant of the Rougon-Macquart family. He is treated as such in that his actions throughout the novel, when developed by Zola, a novelist who is also a scientist, are reduced to a limited number of fixed laws, just as the phenomena of the physical sciences are reduced to fixed laws.

This deterministic concept, extracted by Zola from the writings of Taine, is seen illustrated very early in Le Ventre de Paris. Florent, having been extracted by Madame François from the gutter wherein he lay, is described as "un homme vautré tout de son long... Il paraissait d'une longueur extraordinaire, maigre comme une branche sèche."⁴⁴ This early appearance of the word "maigre" is reinforced by the description of Florent lying on his stomach in Madame François' cart of carrots and turnips:

La faim s'était réveillée, intolérable, atroce. Ses membres dormaient; il ne sentait en lui que son estomac, tordu, tendu, aillé, comme un fer rouge. L'odeur fraîche des légumes dans lesquels il était enfoncé, cette senteur pénétrante des carottes, le troublaient jusqu'à l'évanouissement. (10)

To complete the initial presentation of Florent, it is remarked that he notices the lights of Paris on the horizon, lights "qui l'appelaient, qui l'attendaient." (11) "Puis Florent, les yeux sur l'immense

⁴⁴ Emile Zola, Oeuvres Complètes Vol IV Le Ventre de Paris. Paris: Fasquelle, 1927), p. 7. Hereafter all page references to Le Ventre de Paris will be based on this edition and indicated in parentheses after the quotation.

lueur de Paris, songeait à cette heure à cette histoire qu'il cachait" (11). Florent, thin and starving, Florent the "maigre", is thus returning to a Paris of hedonistic satiety, Paris of the Second Empire, and his political ambitions are again reawakened: "Maintenant il lui fallait monter, atteindre Paris tout en haut." (11).

The complete futility of Florent's return to Paris to attempt again what he had failed to do before he was exiled is stated already in the opening pages of the novel when it is remarked: "Jamais il n'arriverait à ce sommet, couronné de ces lumières." (11) Yet Florent will pursue such a futile dream throughout the novel, until he again is deported for attempting to overthrow the Empire. His hunger had caused him to recreate in his mind the agony of the exile and perhaps more strongly convince him to attempt what he had failed to do seven years earlier:

Non la faim ne l'avait plus quittée. Il fouillait ses souvenirs, ne se rappelait pas une heure de plénitude. Il était devenu sec, l'estomac rétréci, la peau collée aux os. Et il retrouvait Paris, gras, superbe, débordant de nourriture au fond des ténèbres; il y rentrait sur un lit de légumes, il y roulait, dans un inconnu de mangeailles. (17)

An antithesis is then immediately established between the ill-fated attempt of the "maigre" and the success of the "gras." This antithesis, fundamental to the entire novel, is localized by Florent as not all of Paris but only one section Les Halles:

Il revoyait la ville gourmande qu'il avait laissée par cette lointaine nuit de janvier, et il lui semblait que cela avait grandi, s'était épanoui dans cette énormité des Halles, dont il commençait à entendre le souffle colossal, épais encore d'indigestion de la veille. (17)

Everything about Les Halles seemed to Florent to have assumed, in complete antithesis to himself, an air of fatness and satiety. When he sees his sister-in-law, Lisa Quenu, on the threshold of her

"charcuterie" sunning herself in the morning light, it is remarked:

Elle mettait un bonheur de plus, une plentitude solide au milieu de toutes ces gaietés grasses. C'était une belle femme; elle tenait la largeur de la porte, point trop grasse pourtant, forte de la gorge, dans la maturité de la trentaine. Sa chair, paisible, avait cette blancheur transparente, cette peau fine et rosée des personnes qui vivent d'ordinaire dans les graisses et les viandes crues. (17)

Even Lisa's daughter and her cat have assumed a certain fatness:

C'était une superbe enfant de cinq ans, ayant une grosse figure ronde, d'une grande ressemblance avec la belle charcutière. Elle tenait entre ces bras une énorme chatte jaune... (17)

As the first chapter closes, the battle scene is fully set-- the war between the rich and the poor, the fat and the thin, between the supporters of the Empire and the supporters of the Republic. The entire Quenu family "suaient la santé; ils étaient superbes, carrés, luisants; ils le (Florent) regardaient avec l'étonnement de gens très gras pris d'une vague inquiétude en face d'un maigre. Et le chat lui-même, dont la peau pétait la graisse, arrondissait ses yeux jaunes, l'examinant d'un air déflant." (66) It is a battle between the fat and the thin, a battle which permeates every aspect of the novel-- from the description of the Quartier des Halles and its inhabitants to the air and light that flood the quarter at mid-day. It is a battle which forms the underlying antithetical structure of the novel and which, as was foretold in the opening pages, will in the end only strengthen the position of the already fat bourgeoisie. Victory is conceded by Claude Lantier, "un maigre", as the novel closes:

Il injuriait les Gras, il disait que les Gras avaient vaincu. Autour de lui il ne voyait plus que des gras, s'arrondissant, crevant de santé, saluant un nouveau jour de belle indigestion. (500).

It is a battle won by the fat, a group represented most strikingly by Lisa Quenu, whose principal preoccupation is to live a comfortable and honest life. Lisa is presented in the novel as the oldest daughter

of the Macquart family of Plassans whose primary beliefs were that

tout le monde doit travailler pour manger, que chacun est chargé de son propre bonheur, qu'on fait le mal en encourageant la paresse; enfin, que, s'il y a des malheureux, c'est tant pis pour les fainéants. (81)

As such she represents a typical member of the Macquart family:

Elle n'était qu'une Macquart rangée, raisonnable, logique, avec ses besoins de bien être, ayant compris que la meilleure méthode de s'endormir le soir dans une tiédeur heureuse est encore de se faire soi-même un lit de béatitude. (81)

Such is her plan of action throughout the entire novel:

Elle donnait à cette couche moelleuse toutes ses heures, toutes ses pensées. Dès l'âge de six ans elle consentait à rester bien sage sur sa petite chaise, la journée entière, à condition qu'on la récompenserait d'un gâteau le soir. (81)

It is in the defense of her explicitly stated goals that she ultimately asks Florent to take his meals elsewhere, for fear of endangering her position. It is likewise in fear of having her husband involved directly in the conspiracy of Florent and his friends that she runs to the police station. It is a desire that permeates every action of Lisa throughout the novel, a pursuit that is as tireless and all-encompassing as is the ill-fated pursuit of an ideal for which Florent eventually sacrifices himself. In both cases they are pursuits dictated by the forces of heredity, a heredity that determined their every move, reaction and thought.

With this given set of characters, Zola has created a novel by placing them in a specific historical situation, the Second Empire, characterized by Hemmings as an "eighteen year long orgy executed by ravening beasts."⁴⁵ Hemmings further remarks:

The economic historian may talk of the great material prosperity of the era, of booming trade, of rising incomes and the steady accumulation of capital wealth. Zola saw it as a vast

⁴⁵ Hemmings, Zola, p. 77.

champing of tireless jaws, a stuffing of infinitely capacious bellies, a disgusting and mannerless blow-out, a generation of satisfied tradespeople waxing fatter and fatter on an inexhaustible supply of carbohydrates, as cooped and mindless battery hens.⁴⁶

Zola, in order to complete the illustration of Taine's philosophy, needs only to place these people living under the Second Empire in a specific geographical situation. Such a framework is provided by Les Halles. Only once in the novel does the action move outside the area of the central markets--when Claude Lantier and Florent accompany Madame François to her home outside the city of Paris. Even then the action takes place primarily in her market garden, referred to by Hemmings as a "type of alimentary canal through which food is injected into the belly of Paris--the market itself."⁴⁷

Having then defined the "race" and the "moment", Zola situates his characters living under the Second Empire in a specific milieu. The importance of the milieu is underlined by Zola as follows:

Le dosage des tares et des caractéristiques médico-sociales admis, les personnages sont nécessairement définis. Mais si l'élément psychologique impose ses lois, certaines modifications peuvent se présenter sous l'influence du milieu.⁴⁸

The milieu of Le Ventre de Paris is one innondated with the fundamental antithetical situation that separates the characters into two distinct groups; yet in presenting the milieu, Zola has shown, in an attempt to make the futility of Florent's actions more clear, only the aspects of the milieu that could be considered as "gras". For it is a world inhabited by the fat, a world which in fact resembles its inhabitants in every respect. The world of the thin is not seen. A certain

⁴⁶ Hemmings, p. 77.

⁴⁷ Hemmings, p. 101.

⁴⁸ J-H Borneoque, Réalisme et Naturalisme (Paris:Hachette, 1958), p. 56.

fatness and satiety is prevalent even in the air that circulates in the Quartier des Halles:

Elle (Lisa) avait soigneusement écarté toutes les causes possibles de trouble, laissant couler les journées au milieu de cet air gras, de cette prospérité alourdie. (93)

The importance that Zola gave to environment, "le milieu qui complète et détermine l'homme", as Hemmings has shown, hampered Zola's treatment of Florent, the first intellectual to appear in Les Rougon Macquart, a republican full of idealism who refused to succumb to the forces of need and accept the position as market inspector. Yet he gives in at Lisa's insistence. He changes his mind, as Hemmings states, "not by the soundness of Lisa's views but by her radiant good health and the smell of the black pudding cooking:" 49

Florent était comme pénétré par cette odeur à la cuisine qui le nourrissait de toute la nourriture dont l'air était chargé; il glissait à la lâcheté heureuse de cette digestion continue du milieu gras où il vivait depuis quinze jours... Il se sentait si alangui par cette soirée claire et calme, par les parfums du boudin et du saindoux, par cette grosse Pauline endormie sur ses genoux, qu'il se surprit à vouloir passé d'autres soirées semblables, des soirées sans fin, qui l'engraisseraient... Non, c'est trop bête, à la fin... J'accepte. Dites à Gavard que j'accepte. (162-63).

His active participation in the world of the fat, however, begins to become oppressive for him:

Il souffrait de ce milieu grossier dont les gestes semblaient avoir pris de l'odeur. (222)

His decision to attempt to again overthrow the Empire is hastened by the milieu in which he finds himself surrounded:

Les Halles géantes, les nourritures débordantes et fortes, avaient hâté la crise. Elles lui semblaient la bête satisfaite et digérante. Elle mettaient autour de lui des gorges énormes, des reins monstrueux, des faces rondes, comme de continuels arguments contre sa maigreur de martyr; alors il se sentit les poings serrés prêt à la lutte, plus irrités par la pensée de son exil qu'il ne l'était en rentrant en France. La haine le reprit toute entière. (226)

49 Hemmings, p. 112.

The milieu of Le Ventre de Paris in the end triumphs. It triumphs for it expels from its presence the intruder, "le maigre," who threatened its very existence. Claude Lantier, walking through the streets near the central markets the day after Florent had again been deported, notices a certain air of happiness in the markets:

Il sentait un reveil de gaieté dans les grandes Halles sonores. O'était comme une joie de guérison, un tapage plus haut de gens soulagés, enfin, d'un poids qui leur gênait l'estomac. (499).

Not only are characters presented as strongly affected by their environment, but they at times are completely inseparable from the milieu surrounding them. Mlle. Saget, having triumphantly extracted the preciously guarded information about Florent's past from Lisa's daughter, runs to tell La Sarriette and Madame Lecœur. In the following scene, she takes on completely the characteristics of the milieu, that is, a cheese booth in the central markets:

Elle restait debout, se sauvant, dans le bouquet final des fromages. Tous à cette heure donnaient à la fois. O'était une cacophonie de souffles inflects, depuis les lourdeurs molles des patés cuites, du gruyère et du hollande, jusqu'aux pointes alcalines de l'olivet... Cela s'épandait, se soutenait, au milieu du vibration général n'ayant plus de parfums distincts, d'un vertige continu de nausée et une force terrible d'asphyxie. Cependant il semblait que c'étaient les paroles de Mae Lecœur et de Mlle. Saget qui puaient si fort. (396).

Zola's avowed naturalistic intentions in writing Les Rougon-Macquart, it will be recalled, were twofold: 1) to study in one family the questions of heredity and milieu; 2) to study in its entirety the Second Empire. Zola would thus present man as an individual and as a member of a particular group in a society. His observations produced many penetrating studies of man as an individual and man as a societal type, but none as convincing as his study of Lisa Quenu. Lisa, apart from symbolizing the epitome, with respect to physique, of the bourgeoisie, represents a cherished ideal of her class--honesty.

She repeatedly attempts to give Florent his share of the inheritance from Uncle Gradelle. Her honesty was even recognized by Mlle. Saget and the other gossips of the Quartier des Halles who avow: "L'honnêteté de Lisa fait un des actes de foi du quartier." (133) Zola, in his plan for the novel remarked, however:

Honnêteté, il faut s'entendre. Je veux lui donner l'honnêteté de sa classe et montrer quels dessous formidables de lâcheté, de cruauté, il y a sous la chair calme d'une bourgeoise.⁵⁰

Yet beneath the veneer of honesty in Lisa is a more powerful force--the desire to maintain at all costs the air of satiety that the Second Empire has produced. Nothing will be allowed to disturb the balance and threaten the fattened bourgeoisie. It is for this reason that Lisa, discovering the flags piled in Florent's room in preparation for the insurrection, runs to the police. Her actions and the actions of the bourgeoisie of which she becomes the symbol crush Florent's insurrection, a failure caused by the bourgeoisie and epigrammatically summed up by Claude Lantier at the close of the novel as follows: "Quels gredins que les honnêtes gens." (502)

Zola has then succeeded in presenting both an individual and a societal type in his presentation of Lisa. One need only think of "le maigre", "la Normande", "la belle poisonnière", "la petite Vieille", and other such individuals who represent societal types to realize the great number of "individual-type" treatments in Le Ventre de Paris. These individuals who are also types are presented throughout the novel in everyday situations--working, gossiping, drinking, eating, all the while growing fatter and fatter. They represent collectively the crass civilization of the Second Empire. Zola remarked in this connection: "Et quel sujet vraiment moderne." 51

⁵⁰ Hemmings, p. 98

⁵¹ Charles Beauchat, Histoire du Naturalisme français Vol. I (Paris: Correa, 1949), p. 58.

Le Ventre de Paris is then a complete expression of the naturalistic thesis of Emile Zola for it is a scientific analysis of a specific and carefully selected group of people who live at a certain time in history and in a certain milieu; it is a scientific journal of carefully documented sensory observations; it is a hymn to the ordinary and the common; it is a judgement of a particular society, and it is a portrait of that society in its entirety. It is, in short, a wholly naturalistic novel. Yet it is more, for it represents the principal structural and stylistic principles of the society from which it emerged.

LE VENTRE DE PARIS: AN IMPRESSIONISTIC NOVEL

The literature of Impressionism is founded on structural and stylistic principles that are not unlike those of the art of Impressionism. This can be verified by examining in detail the impressionistic sentence. Just as the symmetrical and outlined forms in art have been abandoned (the inseparability of form and color and their complete dependance on light), so in literature has the symmetrical and reasoned sentence:

En littérature la cohérence de la phrase est brisée, le règne de l'ordre logique est aboli. La littérature de l'impressionnisme ne connaît plus guère la phrase achevée, correcte, bien assise, rythmée et équilibrée. Elle lui substitue une phrase morcelée, formée d'impressions successives qui viennent s'inscrire en elle sans lien grammatical et logique.⁵²

Reutersvard underlines this point when he states:

Just as there is not a previously arranged mixture of colors in art, so there is no logical construction of the sentence in literature.⁵³

In order to understand better the precise nature of the impressionistic sentence, it is necessary to study in detail each of the major component parts of such a construction, beginning with the most fundamental element of the impressionistic sentence, the noun. The impressionistic sentence is characterized by an abundance of substantives placed in positions of importance. This position is dictated in a large part by the essentially descriptive nature of Impressionism. In the pursuit of the momentary and the unique, the impressionist suspends momentarily the movement of fluid reality, as does the naturalist, in an attempt to analyze in detail and describe the particular qualities of a unique moment in the perpetuum mobile. The result is

⁵² Ruth Moser, L'Impressionnisme français (Genève: Droz, 1952) p. 243.

⁵³ Reutersvard, p. 275.

a sentence primarily nominal in character, a sentence which is characterized by an abundance of commas, semi-colons, and conjunctions in an effort to describe every detail. In the following paragraph consisting of 10 nominal sentences joined by "puis", "d'abord", "il y avait", "ensuite", "il y avait encore", and "enfin", there are 59 commas, 7 semi-colons, 1 colon and 85 nouns. The grammatical pattern utilized by Zola in the description of the Quenu charcuterie is not without order. Rather, there is a logical arrangement of "d'abord", "il y avait", "ensuite", "il y avait encore", and "enfin." This sequence is a consistent pattern utilized by Zola in Le Ventre de Paris, a pattern which seems to describe comprehensively without authorial commentary, just as Monet seemed to describe details in The River, 1868, without pausing to identify them:

Puis dans ce cadre aimable, l'étalage montait. Il était posé sur un lit de fines rognures de papier bleu; par endroits, des feuilles de fougère, délicatement rangées, changeait certaines assiettes en bouquets entourés de verdure. C'était un monde de bonnes choses; de choses fondantes, de choses grasses. D'abord, tout en bas, contre la glace, il y avait une rangée de pots de moutarde. Les jambonneaux desossés venaient au-dessus, avec leur bonne figure ronde, jaune de chapelure, leur manche terminé par un pampon vert. Ensuite arrivaient les grands plats: les langues fourrées de Strasbourg, rouges et vernies, saignantes à côté de la pâleur des saucisses et des pieds de cochon; les boudins, noirs, roulés comme des couleuvres bonnes filles; les andouilles, empilées deux à deux, crevant de santé; les saucissons, pareils à des échinés de chancre, dans leurs chapes d'argent; les pâtés, tout chauds, portant les petits drapeaux de leurs étiquettes; les gros jambons, les grosses pièces de veau et de porc, glacées, et dont la gelée avait des limpidités au fond desquelles dormaient des viandes et des hachis, dans des lacs de graisse figée. Entre les assiettes, entre le plat, sur un lit de rognures bleues, se trouvaient jetés des bocaux d'aschards, de coulis, de truffes conservées, des terrines de foies gras, des boîtes moirées de thon, et de sardines. Une caisse de fromages laitoux, et une autre caisse, pleine d'escargots bourrés de beurre persillé, étaient posées aux deux coins, négligemment. Enfin, tout en haut, tombant d'une barre à dents de loup, des colliers de saucisses, de saucissons, de cervelas, pendaient, symétriques, semblables à des cordons et à des glands de teintures riches; tandis que, derrière, des lambeaux de crépine mettaient leur

dentelle, leur fond de guipure blanche et charnue. Et là, sur le dernier gradin de cette chapelle de ventre, au milieu des bouts de la crépine entre deux bouquets de glaieuls pourprés, le réposoir se couronnait d'un aquarium carré, garni de rocaille, où deux poissons rouges nageaient, continuellement. (61-63)

Equally important to the impressionistic sentence is the descriptive adjective, particularly the adjective of color, which makes the representation of the object described more precise in that it is given the particular characteristics of a specific moment of color associated with an object in a particular milieu. In the following description of the cabbages piled in the street, the adjectives of color and nouns almost inhibit the sentence from flowing freely; that is, the description piles up and the sentence appears as a chain of substantives and adjectives of color. This piling up is considered by Moser as an important characteristic of the impressionistic sentence: "Les couleurs et les choses se pressent dans cette vrose, gonflent la phrase, le tendent et souvent l'empêche de s'avancer." 54

Au carrefour de la rue des Halles, les choux faisaient des montagnes; les énormes choux blancs, serrés et durs comme des boulets de métal pale; les choux frisés, dont les grandes feuilles ressemblaient à des vasques de bronze; les choux rouges, que l'aube changeaient en des floraisons superbes, liés de vin, avec des neutrisures de carmin et de pourpre sombre. (46)

This piling up of substantives and adjectives of color is seen more clearly in the following description of the "pavillon de la marée":

Pêle-mêle, au hasard du coup de filet, les algues profondes, où dort la vie mystérieuse des grandes eaux, avaient tout livré; les cabillauds, les aigrefins, les carrelets, les plies, les limandes, bête communes d'un gris sale, aux taches blanchâtres; les congres, ces grosses couleuvres d'un bleu de vase, aux minces yeux noirs, si gluantes qu'elles semblent ramper, vivantes encore; les raies élargies, à ventre pale bordé de rouge tendre, dont les dos superbes, allongeant les nœuds saillants de l'échine, se marbrent, jusqu'aux baleines tendues des nageoires, de plaques de cinabre coupées par des zébrures

54 Moser, p. 121.

de bronze florentin, d'une bigarrure assombrie de crapaud et de fleur malsaine; les chiens de mer, horribles, avec leurs têtes rondes, leurs courtes ailes de chauves-souris charnues, monstres qui doivent garder de leurs abois les trésors des grottes marines. Puis, venaient les beaux poissons, isolés un sur chaque plateau d'osier; les saumons, d'argent guilloché, dont chaque écaille semble un coup de burin dans le poil de métal; les mulets, d'écailles plus fortes, de ciselures plus grossières; les grands trubots, les grandes barbures, d'un grain serré et blanc comme du lait caillé; les thons, lissés et vernis, pareilles à des sacs de cuir noirâtre; les bars arrondis, ouvrant une bouche énorme, faisant songer à quelque âme trop grasse, rendue à pleine gorge, dans la stupéfaction de l'agonie. Et de toutes parts, les soles, par paires, grises ou blondes, pullulaient; les équilles minces, raides, ressemblaient à des rognures d'étain; les harengs, légèrement tordus, montraient tous, sur leurs robes lamées, la meurtrissure de leurs ouies saignantes; les dorades grasses se teintaient d'un point de carmin, tandis que les maquereaux, dorés, le dos strié de brunissures verdâtres, faisaient luire la nacre changeante de leurs flancs, et que les grondins roses, à ventres blancs, les têtes rangées au centre des mannes, les queues rayonnantes, épanouissaient d'étranges floraisons, panachées, de blanc de perle et de vermillon vif. Il y avait encore des rougets de roche, à la chair exquise, du rouge enluminé des cyprins, des caisses de merlins, aux reflets propres, jolis comme des paniers de fraises, qui laissaient échapper une odeur puissante de violette. (165-167)

In addition to what may be considered a normal grammatical use of the adjective of color, that is, after the noun it modifies, the impressionist word artist utilizes color adjectives in a manner particular to his primary objective, that is, to paint light and color. In the impressionistic sentence adjectives of color are occasionally given positions of such importance that they eclipse the noun they modify; the color becomes more important than the object to which it belongs. This effect is achieved in three ways: 1) by changing the position of the adjective of color from its normal post-nominal position; 2) by substantizing the adjective; 3) by replacing the adjective by an abstract substantive of quality.

By changing the position of the adjective of color from its normal post-nominal position, the impressionistic word artist thereby achieves a strong sense of color in that the eye perceives the color of the object before the object is perceived. Moser underlines this

point as follows:

L'adjectif qui précède le substantif contre la règle traduit toujours une sensation plus forte que la pensée logique; l'oeil aperçoit la forme et la couleur avant de les attribuer à l'objet auquel elles appartiennent. ⁵⁵

The following example illustrates this point:

Un bec de gaz, au sortir d'une nappe d'ombre, éclairait les clous d'un soulier, la manche bleue d'une blouse (instead of "la manche d'une blouse bleue"); le bout d'une casquette, entrevus dans cette floraison énorme des bouquets rouges des carottes (instead of "des bouquets de carottes rouges"), des bouquets blancs de navets (instead of "des bouquets de navets blancs"), des verdure débordantes des pois et des choux. (5-6 the parenthetical restatements and underlining do not appear in the original text).

An equally strong sense of color is produced by substantizing the adjective of color as in the following example: (The underlining does not appear in the original text)

Et le vernis mordoré d'un panier d'oignons, le rouge saignant d'un tas de tomates, l'effacement jaunâtre d'un lot de concombres, le violet sombre d'une grappe d'aubergines, ça et là, s'allumaient; pendant que de gros radis noirs, rangés en nappes de deuil, laissaient encore quelque trous de ténèbres, au milieu des joies vibrantes du réveil. (47)

Or in the following descriptions of the fish in the "pavillon de la marée" in the daylight and the vegetables covering the sidewalks in the Quartier des Halles:

Une barre de soleil, tombant du haut vitrage de la rue couverte, vint allumer ces couleurs précieuses, lavées et attendries par la vague, irisées et fondues dans les tons de chair des coquillages, l'opale des merlans, la nacre des macquereaux, l'or des rougets, la robe lamée des harengs, les grandes pièces d'argenterie des saumons. (167)

On ne voyait encore, dans la clarté brusque et tournante des lanternes, que l'épanouissement d'un paquet d'artichauts, les verts délicats des salades, le corail rose des carottes, l'ivoire mat des navets; et ces éclairs de couleur intenses filaient le long des tas, avec des lanternes. (25)

The impressionistic artist can also produce a strong sensation of color by replacing the adjective of color by an abstract substantive

of quality as in the following example:

Q'était une mer. Elle s'étendait de la pointe Saint-Eustache à la rue des Halles, entre les deux groupes de pavillons. Et aux deux bouts, dans les deux carrefours le flot grandissait encore; les légumes submergeaient les pavés... ces tas moutonnants comme des flots pressés, ce fleuve de verdure qui semblait couler dans l'encaissement de la chaussée, pareil à la débâcle des pluies d'automne, prenaient des ombres délicatées et perlées, des violets attendris, des roses teintés de lait, des verts noyés dans les jaunes, toutes les pâleurs qui font du ciel une soie changeante au lever du soleil. (45)

Utilizing the preceding descriptive techniques, that is, changing the position of the adjective of color, substantizing the color adjective, and replacing the color adjective by an abstract substantive of color, the impressionist word artist places on the page, in much the same manner as the painterly impressionist, distinct and unblended spots of color, thereby producing a strong sense of dynamic color. These techniques are, in fact, viewed by Hatzfeld as the main descriptive technique utilized by Zola in Le Ventre de Paris.⁵⁶

In addition to the adjectival transformations carried out in the preceding ways, the impressionist artist also alters the adjective of color by the addition of the suffix "âtre". This suffix, used repeatedly in Le Ventre de Paris, evokes a color that could only have been produced on a specific object at a specific time in a specific geographical location. The following scene takes place in the dimly lit poultry storage area beneath Les Halles:

Le grillage de la resserre était tout poussiéreux, tendu de toiles d'araignées, à ce point qu'il semblait garni de stores gris; l'urine des lapins rongait les panneaux du bas; la fiente de la volaille tachait les planches d'éclaboussures blanchâtres. Mais Lisa ne voulait pas désobliger Marjolin en montrant davantage son dégoût. (325-326).

In the following scene Les Halles are described as "greenish grey" as they emerge from the shadows:

⁵⁶ Hatzfeld, p. 173.

Et Florent regardait les grandes Halles sortir de l'ombre, où il les avait vues, allongeant à l'infini leurs palais à jour. Elle se solidifiaient, d'un gris verdâtre, plus géantes encore, avec leur mature prodigieuse, supportant les nappes sans fin de leurs toits. (44)

Not only is the "âtre" suffix utilized to describe objects but also people, as in the following description given by Claude Lantier of Marjolin et Cadine:

Il (Marjolin) connaissait les moindres recoins des Halles, les aimait d'une tendresse de fils, vivait avec des agilités d'écureuil, au milieu de cette forêt de fonte. Ils (Marjolin et Cadine) faisaient un joli couple, lui, et cette geuse de Cadine que la mère Chantmesse avait ramassé un jour au coin de l'ancien marché des innocents. Lui était superbe, ce grand bêta, doré comme un Reubens, avec un duvet roussâtre qui acrochait le jour. (43).

In addition to the abundance of substantives and adjectives, particularly those of color, the impressionistic sentence is characterized by the almost total absence of verbs from positions of importance. The verb is usually relegated to a clause or used as an auxiliary. It is the substantives and the adjectives that dominate the impressionistic sentence. Hatzfeld has called this type of sentence "a color spot without verbal harmonization".⁵⁷ Ruth Moser also underlines this point as follows:

Dans la phrase impressionniste, il n'y a aucun verbe principal. Il en résulte un mouvement brisé de la phrase, privée de son lien principal, du verbe. Sans verbe, il n'y a pas d'élan rythmé, il n'y a pas de continuité.⁵⁸

Moser further explains:

Cette méfiance à l'égard du verbe est une des marques du style impressionniste.⁵⁹

The relative unimportance of verbs in the impressionistic sentence is the result of the inherent nature of Impressionism, a descriptive art and not a narrative art. Utilizing a sensitive, scientific eye

⁵⁷ Hatzfeld, p. 173.

⁵⁸ Moser, p. 126.

⁵⁹ Moser, p. 244.

the impressionist suspends momentarily the motion of time and thereafter analyzes in detail the moment of reality held in suspension.

Moser remarks:

La phrase impressionniste se compose de substantifs juxtaposés, déterminés soit par des adjectifs verbaux ou des compléments de noms. Cela suffit, l'essentiel est dit, un verbe n'ajouterait rien de plus, n'aurait qu'une fonction logique et syntaxique à remplir; terminer la pensée, la pensée qui s'ébauche, achever la phrase. ⁶⁰

Moser's remarks are further substantiated by von Wartburg in comparing the general characteristics of the French and German languages, particularly the verb:

La catégorie des mots qui marque surtout les transformations, le devenir, l'activité, est le verbe. Or le rôle du verbe est bien plus réduit en français qu'en allemand. D'abord, le verbe français a souvent quelque chose de plus abstrait, de moins nuancé, de moins précis que le verbe allemand. On s'en apercevra facilement quand on se trouve dans la nécessité de traduire un texte allemand. Il faut dire "aller à cheval", "aller en voiture", "aller à pied". pour "reiten", "fahren", "gehen"; autrement dit, la différence entre ces trois manières de locomotion est exprimée par des substantifs. Pour "stehen", "sitzen" and "liegen" le français se sert du verbe incolore "être" avec un adjectif ou un adverbe (debout, assis, couché). Du reste, il n'en a pas toujours été ainsi. L'ancien français disait "ester", "seoir", "gesir". Il serait facile de multiplier ces exemples pour opposer la richesse verbale de l'ancien français à la pauvreté du français moderne. ⁶¹

There was then a general evolution away from the essentially verbal style of old French towards a more nominal style, an evolution which can be observed clearly by comparing the essentially verbal structure of much Renaissance and Classical literature with the more nominal literature of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in France. The most noticeable stages in this evolution towards nominalism can be seen in the prose productions of Rousseau, Chateaubriand, Balzac and Flaubert. Wartburg substantiates this point as

⁶⁰ Moser, p. 126.

⁶¹ W. v. Wartburg, Evolution et structure de la langue française (Leipzig: Teubner, 1934), pp. 227-228.

follows:

Cette tendance à s'exprimer les événements et les actions par des substantifs plutôt que par des verbes s'est particulièrement accentuée au courant du dix-neuvième siècle.⁶²

This evolution from an essentially verbal style to an essentially nominal style reached a particularly high point of development in the novels of Emile Zola, particularly in Le Ventre de Paris. As such Zola was aided in achieving his naturalistic objectives. Wartburg remarks:

On a souvent étudié cette transformation de la phrase, moderne (c'est-à-dire nominale) et l'on a constaté qu'elle devient particulièrement fréquente chez les naturalistes. Cela n'est pas nous étonner, car les naturalistes cherchent à donner une vision aussi nette que possible des objets. On peut puiser chez eux à pleines mains: "Sur les deux trottoirs c'était une hâte de pas, des bras ballants, une hâte sans fin. Il y eût une panique folle, un galop de bétail, une fuite éperdue dans la boue." ⁶³

Zola was, at the same time, aided in achieving his impressionistic objective as can be observed in the following examples from Le Ventre de Paris:

Sur un carreau de la rue Rambuteau il y avait des tas gigantesques de choux-fleurs, rangés en piles comme des boulets, avec une régularité surprenante. Les chaires blanches et tendres des choux s'épanouissaient, pareilles à d'énormes roses, au milieu des grosses feuilles vertes, et les tas ressemblaient à des bouquets de mariée, alignés dans des jardinières colossales. (31)

Entre les quatre haies, le long du potager, le soleil de mai avait comme une pamoison de tiédeur, un silence plein d'un bourdonnement d'insectes, une somnolence d'enfantement heureux. A certain craquements, à certain soupirs légers, il semblait qu'on entendit naître et pousser des légumes. Les carrés d'épinards et d'oseille, les bandes de radis, de navets et de choux, étalaient leurs nappes régulières, leur terrain noir, verdi par les panaches des feuilles. Plus loin, les rigoles de salades, les oignons, les poireaux, les céleris, alignés, plantés au cordeau, semblaient des soldats de plomb à la parade. (343-344).

⁶² Wartburg, p. 228.

⁶³ Wartburg, p. 228.

The verbs contained in the above descriptions do not in any instance carry the eye of the reader outside a very limited geographical area; in the first example, "le carreau de la rue Rambuteau", in the second example, Madame François's market garden. They are static verbs. Any movement which occurs is contained within the suspended moment analyzed by the author. Just as the impressionistic canvas seems to be alive with movement, so too does the moment described by the literary impressionist. Yet it is a restricted movement in that it is limited to only one moment. As such the moment is represented as distinctly different from all other moments in the perpetuum of time, that is, an illusion of movement is portrayed when in reality no movement occurs. What appears to be movement is in most instances, an illusion of movement created by the vibrating dots of color bathed in light. The verb "s'épanouir", for example, is utilized by Zola in describing the cabbages on the "carreau de la rue Rambuteau". The movement implied by the use of such a reflexive verb, however, does not take place. Yet to the observer there is an illusion of movement created by the effect of light and color, an illusion of movement produced by chromatic fusion on the observer's retina. A similar effect is achieved in the following sentence taken from the above description of Madame François's garden: "A certain craquements, à certain soupirs légers, il semblait qu'on entendit naître et pousser les légumes." The movement inherent in the verbs "naître" and "pousser" does not occur. It is an illusion of movement produced by the fragmentation of form through light. Similarly, there is no movement produced or associated with the verb "s'étaler" in the following sentence: "Les carées d'épinards, et d'oseille, les bandes de radis, de navets, de carottes, les grands plants de pommes de terre et de choux, étalaient leurs nappes régulières, leur terreau noir, verdi par les panaches des feuilles."

The verb "étaler" in the preceding sentence is static. It is, in short, a verb with a wholly nominal or descriptive function. The same is true of the verb "il y avait" in the following sentence: "Sur le carreau de la rue Rambuteau il y avait des tas gigantesques de choux-fleurs, rangés en piles comme des boulets, avec une régularité surprenante." The impersonal verb "il y a" in this instance is followed by the substantive "des tas" which grammatically serves as the direct object. Logically, "des tas" appears as the subject. Alfred Ewert underlines this point when he states:

"Il y a des hommes" is felt to be logically on the same footing as "des hommes existent," that is, there are men.⁶⁴

"Il y a " thereby becomes a positing verb, that is, a verb indicating not the movement of a particular reality but only its existence.

The description of Madame Francois's market garden illustrates well a fundamental use of verbs in the impressionistic sentence, that is, impressionistic verbs serve not a narrative function but a descriptive function. As such, the majority of the verbs in Le Ventre de Paris are in the imperfect tense, the principal tense of French Realism. It is in fact the dominant tense of French prose in the second half of the nineteenth century, a tense whose descriptive capabilities were fully realized by Gustave Flaubert and which thereafter became a literary commonplace in French prose. The imperfect tense is of particular value to the impressionist literary artist, who, having suspended the motion of fluid reality, utilized description as a means of representing comprehensively a particular moment. In other words, as narrative progression is subordinated to description, the particular characteristics of a rigidly defined moment are fully represented in an effort to differentiate one moment from all other

⁶⁴ Alfred Ewert, The French Language (New York: McMillan, 1938) p. 236.

moments in the perpetuum of time. In the following description of Lisa sunning herself in front of her charcuterie, no action occurs even though the scene is constructed with sixteen verbs. Fifteen of the verbs are in the imperfect tense. (In the clause "des personnes qui vivent d'ordinaire dans les graisses", the present tense of the verb "vivre" followed by "d'ordinaire" has the same value as an imperfect verb.) They are all verbs which posit, evoke, and describe, verbs which are devoid of all narrative qualities. They are, in short, impressionistic verbs:

Elle mettait un bonheur de plus, une plentitude solide et heureuse, au milieu de toutes ces gaietés grasses. C'était une belle femme. Elle tenait la largeur de la porte, point trop grasse pourtant, forte de la gorge, dans la maturité de la trentaine. Elle venait de se lever, et déjà ses cheveux, lissés, collés et comme vernis, lui descendaient en petits bandeaux, plats sur les tempes. Cela la rendait très propre. Sa chair paisible avait cette blancheur transparente, cette peau fine et rosée des personnes qui vivent d'ordinaire dans les graisses et les viandes crues. Elle était sérieuse, plutôt, très calme et très lente, s'égayant du regard, les lèvres graves. Son col de linge empesé bridait sur son cou, ses manches blanches qui lui montaient jusqu'aux coudes, son tablier blanc cachant la pointe de ses souliers, ne laissant voir que des bouts de sa robe de cachemire noir, les épaules rondes, le corsage plein, dont le corset tenait l'étoffe, extrêmement. Dans tout ce blanc, le soleil brûlait. Mais trempée de clarté, les cheveux bleus, la chair rose, les manches et la jupe éclatantes, elle ne clignait pas les paupières, elle prenait en toute tranquillité béate son bain de lumière matinale, les yeux doux, riant aux Halles débordantes. Elle avait un air de grande honnêteté. (63-64)

In addition to the comprehensive representation of a particular moment by the impressionistic use of nouns, verbs and adjectives, the impressionistic literary artist further represents one particular moment as unique by the use of figurative language, that is, the simile and the metaphor. Just as nouns, verbs, and adjectives are utilized in a particular manner by the impressionist, so too are similes and metaphors. The impressionistic simile, as do all similes,

helps to make a particular representation more precise by providing a basis for comparison. The impressionistic simile, however, is a more highly perfected simile in that the reality which serves as a basis for comparison is evoked in an impressionistic manner, as in the following example:

Sur le carreau, à droite et à gauche, des femmes assises avaient devant elles des corbeilles carrées, pleines de bottes de roses, de violettes, de dahlias, de marguerites. Les bottes s'assombrissaient, pareilles à des taches de sang, pâlisssaient doucement avec des gris argentés d'une grande délicatesse. (38)

Illustrated in the above simile are all of the basic principles of the impressionistic aesthetic. The form of the roses and daisies has been fragmented by the rising sun; they are reduced to "des taches de sang". As the form of the roses is fragmented the colors become more dominant. This is accomplished by the use of the verb "pâlir", a verb of color in the imperfect tense, which is modified by a prepositional phrase composed of color spots--"avec des gris argentés d'une grande délicatesse." Utilizing this simile Zola has thereby fully represented the roses and the daisies in a unique and transitory moment. The following similes utilized in describing the tenchs and the carp arriving in the markets are also wholly impressionistic:

On déballait les carpes du Rhin, mordorées, si belles avec leurs roussissures métalliques et dont les plaques d'écailles ressemblent à des émaux cloisonnés et bronzés; les tanches, sombres et magnifiques, pareilles à du cuivre rouge taché de vert-de-gris. (169)

In the following example, the baskets of fish lined up on the sidewalk in the market area are compared to a school of fish:

Quand les mannes s'étalèrent Florent put croire qu'un banc de poissons venait d'échouer là sur ce trottoir, ralant encore, avec les nacres roses, les coraux saignants, les perles lait-sues, toutes les noires, et toutes les paleurs glauques de l'océan. (165)

Just as the simile occupies an important position in the art of impressionist, so too does the metaphor. The specific nature of the

metaphors utilized by Zola in Le Ventre de Paris can be traced to the historical phenomenon of artistic Impressionism, which, it will be recalled, was born when Monet and Renoir observed the action of sunlight on the water of the Seine near Argenteuil ^{at La Grenouillère (1869)}. As a result ^{Not till 1872} of their analysis of the effect of sunlight on water Monet and Renoir were lead to the discovery of a new form of artistic representation. Just as these artists in the late 1860's had found a new means of representing water, so too did Zola in Le Ventre de Paris. Water images and representations of water are a favorite motif of Impressionism, both literary and artistic. Moser remarks in this connection:

L'impressionnisme est l'art de l'insaisissable, du fluide; c'est ce qui ressort non seulement de ses thèmes fluviaux et marins, mais encore de telles métaphores qui voient la matière sous le rapport de la fluidité. 65

In the following example, not only did Zola utilize a metaphor evoking a water image, but he sustained the metaphor throughout the one hundred and forty-eight words which follow the initial evocation:

Mais Claude était monté debout sur le banc d'enthousiasme. Il força son compagnon à admirer le jour se levant sur les légumes. O'était une mer. Elle s'étendait de la pointe Saint-Eustache à la rue des Halles, entre les deux groupes de pavillons. Et, aux deux bouts, dans les deux carrefours, le flot grandissait encore, les légumes submergeait les pavés. Le jour se levait lentement d'un gris très doux, lavant toutes choses d'une teinte claire d'aquarelle. Ces tas moutonnantes comme des flots pressés, ce fleuve de verdure, qui semblait couler dans l'encaissement de la chaussée, pareil à la débacle des pluies d'automne, prenaient des ombres délicates et perlées, des violets attendris, des roses teintées de lait, des verts noyés dans les jaunes, toutes les pâleurs qui font du ciel une soie changeante au lever du soleil; et, à mesure que l'incendie du matin montait en jets de flamme au fond de la rue Rambuteau, les légumes s'éveillaient davantage, sortaient du grand bleuissement trainant à terre. (45-46)

The image which is evoked by the sentence: "O'était une mer." is sustained by the following: "le flot", "submergeait", "lavant", "aquarelle", "des flots pressés", "ce fleuve de verdure", "couler",

65 Moser, p. 119.

"des pluies d'automne", "parlées", "des verts noyés", and "jets de flamme". A similar use of water images is made by Zola to describe Florent's reaction to Les Halles as he looks out of his window. In this instance the sustained metaphor is a continuation of the image evoked by the simile, "comme des mers grises":

Que de rêves il avait fait à cette hauteur, les yeux perdus sur les toitures élargies des pavillons. Le plus souvent il les voyait comme des mers grises qui lui parlaient de contrées lointaines. Par les nuits sans lune, elles s'assombrissaient, devenaient des lacs morts, des eaux noirs, empestés et croupies. Les nuits limpides les changeaient en fontaines de lumière; les rayons coulaient sur les deux étages de toits, mouillant les grandes plaques de zinc, débordant et retombant du bord des immenses vasques superposées. Les temps froids les roidissaient, les gelaient, ainsi que des baies de Norvège où glissent des patineurs, tandis que les chaleurs de juin les endormaient d'un sommeil lourd. (454).

The following sustain the metaphorical evocation in the preceding example: "devenaient des lacs morts", "des eaux noirs", "en fontaines", "coulaient", "mouillant", "débordant", "vasques", "gelaient", "des baies de Norvège".

All of the preceding parts of speech, that is, nouns, adjectives, verbs, as well as the similes and metaphors, when utilized in the manner discussed above and grouped together, either in a single sentence or in a paragraph, form what may be called an impressionistic tableau. Le Ventre de Paris is composed of six main descriptive tableaux which correspond to the six main sections of the novel, chapters in which relatively little action takes place and wherein descriptive tableaux form the bulk of the novelistic material. The following is a sequential list of the descriptive tableaux and the principle narrative material in Le Ventre de Paris. Preceding each of the six major tableau groups is a succinct summary of the principal narration presented therein:

SECTION ONE: FLORENT ARRIVING AUX HALLES

Wagons arriving in Paris at 2 A.M.; Madame Francois stopping her wagon and picking up Florent from the gutter; Florent recalling his past history; Florent helping Mme Francois unload her cart; the Central Markets waiting for the sun to come up; Les Halles in the morning light; Florent seeing for the second time the Rue Montorgueil where he earlier was captured and recalling his past; description of the Central Markets mixed with Florent's recollections; description of Les Halles at 4:30 A.M.; general description of Claude Lantier; Claude and Florent walking on the Rue Pirouette; Claude describes the area; Claude and Florent drinking at M. Legibre's; Claude and Florent encounter Alexandre; description of the sunrise in the Quartier des Halles; Claude and Florent "faire le tour" des Halles; description of Marjolin and Cadine; Florent has the feeling that he is surrounded by good food; description of Florent's fear in seeing familiar landmarks; Florent encounters Gavard, Mlle. Saget, and Mlle. Lecoeur; Gavard recounts the recent events of Les Halles and takes Florent to the charcuterie of his brother, Quenu; exterior description of the "Quenu Charcuterie"; description of the products in the charcuterie; description of Lisa sunning herself in front of the butcher shop; the reunion of Florent with his brother and sister-in-law.

SECTION TWO: FLORENT JOINING THE SOCIETY OF LES HALLES

Florent's life in exile and before is recalled--his education, his parents; Florent as a teacher; the childhood of Quenu; Uncle Gradelle's disgust for politics; Florent's involvement in the plot to overthrow the Empire; Florent's exile; Quenu moves in with Uncle Gradelle and subsequently marries Lisa; death of Gradelle; Quenu and Lisa are prosperous merchants; description of Lisa sunning herself in front of the butcher shop; the arrival of Florent; Lisa devises a cover story--Florent will be Lisa's cousin who is returning from America; Florent is in need of a job; Gavard and his history; description of Mlle. Saget; Florent refuses to be market inspector; description of Mlle. Saget, Mme Lecoeur, and La Sariette, as well as Lisa's rival La belle Normande as they try to ascertain Florent's past; description of the products in the butcher shop; Florent recounting the story of the "monsieur mangé par des bêtes"; Florent's story is mixed with a description of the charcuterie, its owners, and its products; Florent consents to be a market inspector.

SECTION THREE: FLORENT REJECTING THE SOCIETY OF LES HALLES

Florent as "inspecteur de la marée"; description of the fish beginning with the ocean fish and then the fresh water fish; M. Verlaque explains the job to Florent; description of La belle Normande and her stand; Florent begins to spend his evenings at M. Lebigre's where he finds others who share his political feelings; description of M. Lebigre's café; description of the people who come there every night; description

of Robine, Logre, Charvet, Clemence, and Rose; description of Les Halles from Florent's window; Florent's difficulties as inspector; the Mehudin family and their history; the battle between Florent and "La belle Normande"; the incident of Mme Toboureaux's maid and the spoiled brill; Florent closes "La belle Normande's" booth for eight days; description of "La belle Normande" and her son Muche; Muche's like for Florent; Florent teaches Muche to read and his war with "la belle poissonnière ends"; Florent bored with his job; description of the "poissons monotones"; description of the fish pavilion and its stench; Florent again decided to again attempt to overthrow the Empire; Florent decides to continue giving lessons to Muche; Mlle. Saget attempts to clarify Florent's past history; the jealousies of Lisa and "la belle poissonnière"; the political discussions become more animated; Florent encourages Quenu to attend the meetings; Mlle. Saget and her group attempt to clarify Florent's past by convincing Lisa that her husband and her shop are going to be harmed; Lisa's doubts about Florent.

SECTION FOUR: FLORENT BEING REJECTED BY LISA, "LA REINE DE'S HALLES"

Description of Marjolin and Cadine; Cadine the flower seller and her flowers; description of Les Halles; Cadine and Marjolin growing up in the area of the central markets; their exploits in the poultry market; lengthy description of the baskets wherein they slept; description of Les Halles "sous terre"; description of Lisa; description of Les Halles from the rooftops; Claude Lantier becomes a friend of Cadine and Marjolin; they walk throughout the entire area of the markets expressing their personal preferences; description of Les Halles in the late afternoon; Léon, Cadine and Marjolin steal food; Lisa tries to convince her husband that Florent is a threat to their security; Lisa announces that either Florent or she will have to leave; Florent senses her hate and decides to eat his meals elsewhere; Lisa becomes friendly with Gavard in an attempt to find out more about Florent; Marjolin conducts Lisa into the underground storage area in search of Gavard; description of the underground city; the incident of "mère Palette's" geese; description of the "pierres d'abbatage"; Marjolin attempts to seduce Lisa; Quenu suggests to Lisa that they attend the theater; Lisa looks in Florent's room for clues about his personal life; great commotion in the street--someone has found Marjolin unconscious in the caves; Claude, Florent and Madame Francois go to Nanterre for the day; description of life in the country; discussion of the battle between the "gras" and the "maigre"; description of the return trip to Paris.

SECTION FIVE: FLORENT BEING REJECTED BY LES HALLES

Lisa goes to speak to the Abbé Roustan; description of the interior of Saint-Eustache; Lisa gets advice from the abbé on what to do concerning Florent; Lisa goes to Florent's room and finds the first chapter of his study of Cayenne; she ultimately finds his plans for overthrowing the Empire; Lisa returns from Florent's room and finds Pauline missing; the

incident of Pauline and Muche playing in the mud; Mlle. Saget rescues Pauline from Muche and through Pauline learns Florent's story; description of Mlle. Saget spreading the story of Florent's past in the quartier des Halles; description of La Sariette's fruit; description of the cheese in the cheese stalls; the "symphonie des fromages"; description of the cheese mixed with Mlle. Saget's gossip; the story of Florent's past is exaggerated and told everywhere; arguments for and against Florent; the news of Florent's past affects the whole area; the vegetables and the fish of the butcher shop are affected by the news; lengthy description of the changes in the quartier des Halles; Mlle. Saget keeps Lisa informed of the latest gossip concerning Florent; Florent asks for the money owed him from the inheritance; Lisa discovers the flags in Florent's room and runs to the police station; Florent wants the insurrection to take place immediately; description of Les Halles.

SECTION SIX: FLORENT BEING EXPELLED FROM LES HALLES

Florent makes more detailed plans; his walking trip through Paris; Florent encounters Claude who is looking for Marjolin; Marjolin is in the caves killing pigeons; Auguste tells Florent that the police came looking for him that morning; Lisa carries on as usual; the police search the Normande's room looking for traces of Florent and discover Muche's notebooks wherein he practices writing the sentence: "Quand l'heure sonnera, le coupable tombera."; Mlle. Saget runs to tell Lisa the latest news; Gavard, looking for Florent, goes to Florent's room and is captured by the police; the gossips run to Gavard's appartement and take what they want; Florent encounters "la mère Mehuduin" who tells him that a man was looking for him and that he is waiting for him at the Quenu charcuterie; Florent goes to his room and is captured by the police, before leaving he frees a caged bird; description of the capture; Florent is again deported, Logre and Lacaille are acquitted, Alexandre is sentenced to two years of prison; Claude and Madame Francois discuss the arrest; description of Les Halles resuming their normal activity; Claude remarks: "Quels gredins que les honnêtes gens.".

Each of the separate descriptive tableaux listed above and all of the narrative material are built around the main subject of the novel--Les Halles. The narrative material, however, does not in any significant manner represent narration in the traditional meaning of the term. Just as the importance of the verb in the impressionistic sentence is minimized, so too is the importance of narration in the impressionistic novel minimized. Each of the six main sections of the novel is constructed around a motif, Les Halles. Narration in Le Ventre de Paris is a means utilized by Zola to portray comprehensively

the movement of Les Halles as it is affected by the presence of Florent. As such, Le Ventre de Paris represents a series of six main impressionistic descriptive tableaux, a series not unlike the series of impressionistic canvases created by Monet around one central motif. Les Halles is thus portrayed at six precise and unique moments of its existence. Just as the Rouen Cathedral in Monet's series is portrayed at sunrise, so is Les Halles portrayed as Florent arrives in the area of Les Halles; just as the cathedral is portrayed at noon, so too is Les Halles portrayed when Florent joins the working world of the "gras" and becomes "inspecteur de la marée"; just as the cathedral is seen in the afternoon light, so too is the area of Les Halles seen when Florent rejects the world of the fat; just as the cathedral is portrayed in the fog, so too is the area of Les Halles portrayed when Lisa, "la reine des Halles," rejects Florent; just as the cathedral is portrayed at dusk, so too is the area of the markets portrayed as it rejects Florent; just as the cathedral is portrayed in the winter, so too is the area of Les Halles seen as it expels Florent, "le maigre", from its presence.

In both instances the subjects, whether Les Halles or the Rouen Cathedral, are, for the most part, secondary to the descriptions they evoke. Moser remarks:

Traiter un sujet pour les tons et non pour le sujet lui-même, voilà ce qui distingue les impressionnistes des autres peintres. 66

Moser further underlines this point in discussing Monet's series:

Cette vérité immédiate de l'éclairage et de l'atmosphère fait la raison d'être de ces toiles; qui ne saurait intéresser ni par le sujet ni par la composition, ni par le détail. Les impressionnistes ne composent plus. Ils choisissent, tout au plus, le site qui fera le juste sujet de leur toile et celui-bà leur importe si peu que Monet en viendra à ne plus varier

⁶⁶ Moser, p. 53.

dans ses séries qu'il peindra d'après le même motif. Les séries seront la dernière conséquence d'une tendance qui commence à se manifester dès les premières oeuvres des impressionistes, la tendance à ne retenir d'un sujet que les variations colorées, à ne retenir que la tonalité créée par les jeux de la lumière.⁶⁷

This point was also underlined by Mallarmé, who, in October 1864, remarked:

J'ai enfin commencé mon Hérodiade, avec terreur car j'invente une langue qui doit nécessairement jaillir d'une poétique nouvelle, que je pourrais définir en deux mots: Peindre non la chose, mais l'effet qu'elle produit. Le vers ne doit donc pas, là, se composer des mots, mais d'intentions, et toutes les paroles s'effacer devant la sensation.⁶⁸

The plot of Le Ventre de Paris, although of importance, is of lesser importance than the description it evokes, a plot built around Florent. Yet it is not Florent who is the chief player in the novel. The chief player in the novel is "le ventre de Paris" itself. Yet the novel is convincing. It is convincing because of its art and not because of its intrigue. It is a triumph of description over narration. It is a technique analogous to that utilized by Molière in composing his comedies, that is, the plot serves as a pretext for uniting the separate character descriptions and developments.

What then would appear to be narration in Le Ventre de Paris is nothing more than the movement caused in the Quartier des Halles by the presence of Florent, that is, in Le Ventre de Paris narration becomes description. Florent is a stimulus. He is the rain, the fog, the morning sun, the afternoon light. "Le ventre de Paris" is the Rouen Cathedral. In impressionistic art it is the individual color spots which seem to vibrate on the surface of a canvas. In Le Ventre de Paris it is the people of Les Halles who vibrate and move as they

⁶⁷ Moser, p. 53.

⁶⁸ Reported by Moser, p. 87.

react to Florent, either his absence or presence. In both instances the vibrations are identical.

At the same time, inanimate objects of the Quartier des Halles, the fish, the fruit, the flowers, the vegetables, the separate pavilions, are represented by Zola as vibrating color spots bathed in light. The pavilions are, as is the Rouen Cathedral, portrayed at all times of the day and in all atmospheric conditions:

Les Halles before sunrise:

Mais ce qui le (Florent) suprenait, c'étaient aux deux bords de la rue, de gigantesques pavillons, dont les toits superposés lui semblaient grandir, s'étendre, se perdre, au fond d'un poudrolement de lueurs. Il rêvait, l'esprit affaibli, à une suite de palais, énormes et réguliers, d'une légèreté de cristal, allumant sur leurs façades les milles raies de flammes de persiennes continues et sans fin. (15)

Les Halles at sunrise:

Et Florent regardait les grandes Halles sortir de l'ombre, sortir du rêve où il les avait vues, allongeant à l'infini leurs palais à jour. Elles se solidifiaient, d'un gris verdâtre, plus géantes encore, avec leur masses géométriques; et, quand toutes les clartés inférieures furent éteintes, qu'elles baignèrent dans le jour levant, carrées, uniformes, elles apparurent comme une machine moderne à vapeur, quelque chaudière destinée à la digestion d'un peuple, gigantesque ventre de métal, bouillonnée, rivé, fait de bois, de verre et de fonte, d'une élégance et d'une puissance de moteur mécanique, fonctionnant là, avec la chaleur de chauffage, l'étourdissement, le branle furieux des roues. (44-45)

Les Halles at noon:

Et dans les grandes tournées, lorsque tous trois, Claude, Cadine, et Marjolin, rôdaient autour des Halles, ils apercevaient, par chaque bout de rue, un coin du géant de fonte. C'étaient des échappées brusques, des architectures imprévues, le même horizon s'offrait sans cesse sous des aspects divers. Claude se retournait, surtout Rue Montmartre, après avoir passé l'église. Au loin, les Halles, vues de biais, l'enthousiasmaient; une grande arcade, une porte haute, béante, s'ouvrait; puis les pavillons s'entassaient, avec deux étages de toits, leurs persiennes continues, leurs stores immenses; on eût dit des profils de maisons et de palais superposés, une babylone de métal, d'une légèreté, traversée par des terrasses suspendues, des couloirs aériens, des ponts volants de jetés sur le vide. Ils revenaient toujours là, à cette ville autour de laquelle ils flanaient, sans pouvoir la quitter de plus de cent pas. (307-308)

Les Halles at sunset:

Il (Florent) se plaisait aussi, le soir, aux beaux couchers de soleil, qui découpaient en noir les fines dentelles des Halles, sur les lueurs rouges du ciel; la lumière de cinq heures, la poussière volante des derniers rayons, entraient par toutes les baies, par toutes les raies des persiennes; c'était comme un transparent lumineux et dépoli, où se dessinaient les arrêts minces des piliers, les courbes élégantes des charpentes, les figures géométriques des toitures. Il s'emplissait les yeux de cette immense épure lavée à l'encre de chine sur un velin phosphorescent, reprenant son rêve de quelque machine colossale, avec ses roues, ses leviers, ses balanciers, entrevues dans la pourpre du charbon flambant sous la chaudière. (221-222)

Les Halles "par les soirées de flamme":

Mais, par les soirées de flamme, quand les puanteurs montaient, traversant d'un firsson les grands rayons jaunes, comme des fumées chaudes, les nausées le secouaient de nouveau, son rêve s'égarait, à s'imaginer des étuves géantes, des cuves infectes d'équarrisseur où fondait la mauvaise graisse d'un peuple. (222)

Les Halles on cold nights:

Il restait là quelques minutes (à sa fenêtre), aspirant fortement l'air frais qui lui venait de la Seine, par-dessus les maisons de la rue de Rivoli. En bas, confusément, les toitures des Halles étalaient leurs nappes grises. C'était comme des lacs endormis, au milieu desquels le reflet furtif de quelque vitre allumait la lueur argentée d'un flot. Au loin les toits des pavillons de la boucherie et de la valée s'assombrissaient encore, n'étaient plus que des entassements de ténèbres reculant l'horizon. Il jouissait du regard ce grand morceau de ciel qu'il avait en face de lui, de cet immense développement des Halles, qui lui donnait, au milieu des rues étranglées de Paris, la vision d'un bord de mer, avec les eaux mortes et ardoisées d'une baie, à peine frissonnantes du roulement lointain de la houle. (193)

Les Halles on nights when the moon is not visible:

Par les nuits sans lune, elles s'assombrissaient; devenaient des lacs morts, des eaux noires, empestées et croupies. (454)

Les Halles "par les nuits limpides":

Les nuits limpides les changeaient en fontaines de lumières; les rayons coulaient sur les deux étages de toits, mouillant les grandes plaques de zinc, débordant et retombant au bord de ces immenses vasques superposées (54)

Les Halles could thus be portrayed at all hours of the day and in all atmospheric conditions, like the motifs of Monet's series, since the principal goal sought by Zola was not the representation of the area of the markets as an end in itself but as a means to the achievement of light and color. This goal is stated in Le Ventre de Paris as follows:

A chaque heure les jeux de lumière changeaient ainsi les profils des Halles, depuis les bleuissements du matin et les ombres de midi, jusqu'à l'incendie du soleil couchant, s'éteignant dans la cendre grise de la crépuscule. (222)

When both the vibrations of the inanimate objects of Les Halles and the vibrations or reactions of the people of Les Halles are viewed collectively, Le Ventre de Paris assumes a wholly impressionistic finish, that is, it becomes an impressionistic canvas upon which is found a vibrating surface of color spots bathed in light.

CONCLUSION

The phenomena of literary Naturalism and artistic Impressionism are then, it can be argued, synonymous. Both of these movements in the creative arts flourished in France during the decade 1870-1880. It is a decade traditionally considered by art historians as characterized by the impressionistic aesthetic; at the same time it is considered by literary historians as characterized by the naturalistic aesthetic. As such the decade 1870-1880 appears at the outset as an historical period characterized by two equally important and distinct movements in the creative arts. As has been demonstrated in this study, the decade 1870-1880 is characterized by only one aesthetic, that of Impressionism. The apparent aesthetic contradiction, moreover, results in the creation of an eternal moment in the creative arts. It is an eternal moment in the creative arts in that both the impressionistic artists and Emile Zola utilized in the creation of art the aesthetic of Impressionism and demonstrated that such an aesthetic was a valid base for the creation of art.

Stylistically, literary Naturalism and artistic Impressionism are also synonymous. The technique utilized by Emile Zola to represent verbally the reality he observed and documented is wholly that technique which was utilized by the principal artists of Impressionism, particularly Monet, to refashion reality aesthetically. It is a technique which, in fact, overrides Emile Zola's naturalistic thesis, a thesis founded on the desire to represent reality objectively without the subjective intervention of the author either directly or through the technique utilized in composition. The naturalistic thesis of Emile Zola is, however, overridden in a large part, by the highly subjective impressionistic technique which Zola utilized as a means of aesthetically

refashioning reality. It is an identical technique which Zola acclaimed throughout the decade during which Impressionism fought the traditional academy jury. Zola, in praising the impressionist technique, severely criticized the reality represented thereby, as naive, optimistic and idealized. Impressionism, in short, became the scapegoat of the generation of 1880, a generation which had initially acclaimed the art of Impressionism but which, in the 1880's would or could no longer accept sensation as a basis for art. The material prosperity of the early years of the Third Republic resulted in a general societal hysteria, a hysteria of self-congratulation induced by the significant technical and scientific accomplishments of a generation innundated with scientism and the scientific method. It was a society which acclaimed the pursuit of objective truth as its primary objective. The purely aesthetic objective of Impressionism had, in short, been supplanted by a didactic objective, an objective which was most significantly represented by the prose productions of Emile Zola. That society did not, however, in any instance, reject the impressionistic technique which was utilized by Zola to accomplish his didactic objective.

Yet, just as the art of Impressionism had been the scapegoat of the generation of 1880, so did the Naturalism of Zola become the scapegoat of the generation of 1890. That society, which had ten years earlier acclaimed Zola and his naturalistic thesis, reacted in 1890 adversely to the materialistic and scientific philosophy of Naturalism. Hauser remarks:

The curious thing was that at a time when Naturalism already seemed to have won the day, it was attacked with such bitterness.

What was it that people would not forgive Naturalism or pretended not to be able to forgive. . . . Naturalism, it was asserted, was an indelicate, indecent and obscene art, the expression of an insipid, materialistic philosophy, the instrument of a clumsy and heavy-handed democratic propaganda, a collection of boring trivia, and vulgar banalities, a representation of reality which in its portrayal of society described only the wild, ravenous, undisciplined animal in man and only his works of destruction; the dissolution of human relationships, the undermining of the family, the nation, and religion, in short, it was destructive, unnatural and hostile to life. 69

Naturalism was then denied existence by the very group which had ten years earlier acclaimed it as the fullest expression of that society's materialistic objectives. Yet, just as the principal critics of the art of Impressionism had not denied or criticized the impressionistic technique (its structural and stylistic principles), so the critics of Naturalism did not deny or criticize the technique of Naturalism. In both instances, the technique utilized is identical--it is an impressionistic technique. In both instances it was not found unsuitable for the creation of art, even though the ideologies, implied or expressed, utilizing this technique were criticized severely. It is a technique which was subsequently adopted and utilized by the principal symbolist poets, who accepted neither the impressionistic nor the naturalistic point of view, but, at the same time, utilized their technique of composition. Hauser underlines this point as follows:

Symbolism, with its optical and acoustic effects, as well as the mixing and combining of different sense data and the reciprocal action between the various art forms, above all, what Mallarmé understood by the "reconquest from music of the property of poetry" is impressionistic. 70

The symbolists at the same time developed to their highest level the figurative techniques that Impressionism utilized as a basis for

69 Hauser, p. 882.

70 Hauser, p. 896.

description, primarily the metaphor:

Symbolism represents the final result of the development which began with Romanticism, that is, the discovery of the metaphor as the germ cell of poetry and which led to the richness of impressionistic imagery. ⁷¹

A preoccupation with the momentary quality of reality was similarly adopted by the symbolist poets, primarily Mallarmé. It is the result of the prevalent negativism of the generation out of which Symbolism emerged. This negativism produced a societal attitude that is not unlike that which was produced in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in France by the final impact of the Enlightenment. In other words, the dominant negativism of the generation of Emile Zola and that of the generation of the French Revolution produced in the following generations an exaggerated idealism or romanticism. Hauser states:

The mood of crisis leads to a renewal of the idealistic and mystical trends and produces a reaction against the prevailing pessimism, a strong tide of faith. It is only in the course of this development that Impressionism loses its connection with Naturalism and becomes transformed, especially in literature, into a new Romanticism. ⁷²

The Romanticism of which Hauser speaks is unquestionably Symbolism. Whereas the romantic poets of the early years of the nineteenth century, when confronted with significant situations endangering their idealized conception of reality, sought refuge in physical movement or flight in an attempt to confront reality, the symbolists sought refuge in the moment itself. It is a type of internal movement. The flight into the moment of the symbolists when represented poetically represents a non-discursive representation of reality. It is a voyage into the unknown and the pure. The sensual moment of the Impressionists was thereby transformed into the moment of poetic creation which serves

⁷¹ Hauser, p. 896

⁷² Hauser, p. 167.

as the key to a non-discursive and pure realm beyond the scope of sensual evidence and experimentation. In so doing, the symbolist poets elevated the figurative language of Impressionism to its highest level in that the metaphor had been liberated from an obligation to represent reality discursively. Hauser states:

Mallarmé's generation discovered the difference between symbol and allegory and made symbolism as a poetic style the conscious aim of its endeavors; it recognized, even though it was not always able to give expression to its insight, that allegory is nothing but the translation of an abstract idea into the form of a concrete image, whereby the idea continues to a certain extent to be independent of its metaphorical expression and could also be expressed in another form, whereas the symbol brings the idea and the image into an invisible unity, so that the transformation of the image also implies the metamorphosis of the idea. In short, the content of a symbol cannot be translated into any other form, but a symbol can, on the other hand, be interpreted in various ways and this variability of the interpretation, the apparent inexhaustibility of the meaning of the symbol, is its most essential characteristic.⁷³

What Mallarmé and the symbolist poets had done was to remove the cathedral from Monet's canvas. Monet's canvases are then no longer allegorical representations of reality. When the cathedral is taken away there remains a type of residue which was, in fact, the principal material of both Impressionism and Symbolism. Impressionism, however, needed the discursive cathedral. Mallarmé, on the other hand, was carried into the realm of the impressionistic residue without the discursive cathedral. Allegorical interpretation was then no longer possible. To the symbolist poets the impressionistic residue was purified language. "The poet must," as Mallarmé said, "give way to the initiative of the words," "he must allow himself to be borne along by the current of language, by the spontaneous succession of images and visions" which implies that language is not only more poetic but

⁷³ Hauser, p. 897.

also more philosophic than reason." ⁷⁴ Language is, in other words, a dynamic process. The restrictions imposed by reason are identical to those imposed on the Rouen Cathedral in Monet's canvases. Yet just as the variations on an impressionistic allegorical motif are limitless, so too are the interpretations made possible by the dynamic process which is symbolist language. In both instances, it is an identical technique.

It becomes increasingly apparent that the principles of art are valuable in the study of literature. It has been through the study of the aesthetic, structural and stylistic principles of Impressionism in art that it has been possible to determine that Emile Zola, the principal naturalistic novelist of the nineteenth century in France, is also an impressionistic novelist. These principles similarly provide a basis for the hypothesis that literary Symbolism is also founded on the aesthetic, structural and stylistic principles of Impressionism in Art, an hypothesis which can only be verified by an examination of symbolist prose and poetry using as a means of elucidation the aesthetic, structural, and stylistic principles of art that characterized that particular historical period.

⁷⁴ Hauser, p. 196.

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A

a very substantial study, carefully worked out.
 I, for one, was unaware of the illuminating
 parallel. (I trust you are also submitting it
 for a French Dept. course)

a few reservations:

Granted, such a topic involves considerable
 quotation; even so, you tend to overdo it—
 both too often & too lengthy (at least in
 regard to secondary sources (modern writers)
 often you could compress the latter
 &/or paraphrase them; or relegate to
 footnotes. The bulk of your text & quotations
 should feature primary sources. These
 are quite a few pages that verge on being
 an anthology of quotes, rather than an
 interpretive essay.

Secondly, you tend to over state
 your points.

The text on pages 1326-1344 is a revision of the Madame Bovary Chapter of my dissertation.

As I recall, I revised this Chapter, for publication, after having completed my dissertation.

The Renaissance Conception of Space and Art
in the Nineteenth-Century French Novel: Madame Bovary

The fact that the primary spatial and aesthetic principles rudimentarily established during the Italian Renaissance were utilized by the principal painters in the West in the four-hundred-year period from the reintegration of classical form and classical content in the fifteenth century to the formulation of the cubist perspective in the final decades of the nineteenth century has been convincingly documented.¹ That those same principles were utilized in genres other than painting in the same period has, in part, been established.² What we will demonstrate in this examination of Madame Bovary is that the Renaissance conception of space and art, an extremely rich basis for the creation of art which was modified and supplemented according to the particular mode of consciousness and spatio-temporal needs of numerous historical periods, permeates the genre of the novel in France in the nineteenth century. Flaubert, in fact, is the first novelist in France to thoroughly exploit the possibilities of the Renaissance spatial and aesthetic system in the period that that conception of space and art was considered a valid basis for the creation of art. That this is true can be illustrated by examining Madame Bovary in terms of three tendencies--and we call them such advisedly--

characteristic of the Renaissance world view and of much art at that time.³ During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (1) an increasing preoccupation with the study of man, nature, and the relationship between man and the natural world can be noted. At the same time, (2) a new historical consciousness develops which ultimately results in (3) a new structure for art.

The study of man, nature, and the relationship between man and the natural world is not, to be sure, an entirely new development of the Renaissance. The Renaissance point of view with reference to man and nature, however, represents, in many respects, a departure from the medieval perspective. Certain analogies, it is our contention, can be drawn between Seznec's discoveries concerning the pagan divinities during the Middle Ages and during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and between the medieval and Renaissance points of view toward man, nature, and the relationship between man and empirical reality in both periods.⁴ During the Middle Ages, pagan mythology and Christianity are often reconciled, particularly by the Neoplatonists, by means of the allegorical method of interpretation. The pagan gods, as such, are seen as vehicles for the expression of an idea, more often than not, Christian doctrine. Similarly, nature is often seen by medieval man as a vehicle for that same doctrine. Art, then, is the study of man and God and of the

relationship between man and God. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, the mythological tradition is interrupted when the inherited iconographic types for the pagan divinities are abandoned in favor of the classical models. Similarly, during this same period, nature is no longer seen exclusively as a vehicle for the expression of Christian doctrine. The natural world, of which man is considered to be an integral part, is no longer seen as an enigma to be explained by reference to divine laws, but rather as something which man can know by recourse to natural laws. Art, then, becomes the study of man, nature, and the relationship between man and the natural world.

Inasmuch as men of the Renaissance begin to view not only the pagan gods but also nature and man as potential ends in themselves and not as ideological vehicles, it is inevitable that a new historical consciousness--a new conception of time--develops. Again, Seznec's study of the survival of the pagan gods will help to elucidate this point. In reconciling pagan mythology with Christianity, medieval man adapted the pagan gods to contemporary taste and culture. Mercury, for example, is transformed into a bishop by medieval artists. Seen with reference to a concept of time, this transformation of Mercury into a European Christian is revealing. It serves to underline the fact that medieval man, in many instances, makes no real distinction between past time and the present; between, for

example, classical antiquity and the Middle Ages. Renaissance man, however, perceives distinctions in time between, for example, the thirteenth century and classical antiquity--the latter being seen as a totality which is not only historically distant and distinct from the present but also as an ideal time more desirable than the present.⁵ It is this discovery of depth in time which results in the new historical consciousness of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Given the fact that Renaissance man acknowledges that nature and man can be seen as ends in themselves, and given the new historical consciousness of the period, it is not surprising that a new means of portraying or structuring what is perceived is developed. Changes in the formal patterns or structures of art are, in this respect, as Robertson explains in A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives, similar to those in language. Both are representative of "a continuing adaptation of the means of human expression to the needs of a changing cultural environment, and this adaptation involves new ways of formulating what is 'seen' in the world, both concretely and abstractly."⁶ Each age, therefore, has its own vocabulary of patterns. The distinguishing feature of that structural model which characterizes much art at the time of the Renaissance--a feature which sets it apart but not, of course, above the art of the Middle Ages--is the use of the

so-called laws of single viewpoint linear perspective, thought to have been largely the discovery of Paolo Uccello. Unlike much art of the medieval period--a dominant formal convention of which is the tendency to structure in terms of symmetrical patterns characteristically arranged with reference to an abstract hierarchy--much of the art of the Renaissance is structured by the use of single viewpoint linear perspective within a closed geometric space. The symmetrical patterns of medieval art result, it can be argued, from the fact that nature and the natural world, for example, like the pagan divinities, are structured so as to coincide with the Christian world view. The Renaissance type pattern, on the other hand, results from the fact that nature and the natural world are reconciled with Euclidean geometry. In speaking of Dürer's celebrated sky map of 1515 Seznec remarks: "Cette alliance de la vigueur et de la fougue, du calcul et de la vie, caractérise, sans doute, le génie propre de Dürer; mais elle est aussi comme un signe des temps: retrouver à la fois les formes et le savoir des anciens, leur imagination poétique et leur connaissance du monde; concilier comme eux la mythologie et la géométrie, tel sera le rêve des plus grands esprits de la Renaissance."⁷

Such, then, are three dominant tendencies characteristic of the Renaissance world view and of much art at that time. They represent, respectively, the Renaissance point of view

with reference to (1) man and nature, (2) time, and (3) space. That those tendencies are inherent in the conceptual form of Madame Bovary can be demonstrated by examining the form and content of the descriptions of landscape in that novel, as well as the form and content of the novel itself seen as an autonomous aesthetic phenomenon. In any study of the arts, as Sir Kenneth Clark has suggested,⁸ landscape description can be a valuable index of the spatial and temporal structure of contemporary consciousness and of the prevailing attitude toward man, nature, and experience in the world. In an examination of the arts produced in the nineteenth century the study of landscape description is particularly important for, as Clark demonstrates in Landscape Into Art, it is only in the nineteenth century that landscape developed a new aesthetic of its own and is considered a valid expression of the whole of life. Not only does landscape painting become an aesthetically independent mode of artistic expression in the nineteenth century, it is, as Clark illustrates, the chief artistic creation of the nineteenth century. Clark succinctly describes the history of landscape painting in the West as follows: "In Western art landscape painting has had a short and fitful history. In the greatest ages of European art, the age of the Parthenon and that of the Chartres cathedral, landscape did not and could not exist; to Giotto and Michelangelo it was an impertinence. It is only in

the seventeenth century that great artists take up landscape painting for its own sake and try to systematize the rules. Only in the nineteenth century does it become the dominant art form and create a new aesthetic of its own."⁹ In examining the form and content of the descriptions of landscape in Madame Bovary and of the form and content of that novel, the following questions will be answered: (1) To what extent does Flaubert utilize the static Renaissance scaffolding of space as a formal stylistic structure?; (2) What attempts are made by Flaubert to adapt the Renaissance conception of space and art to his particular aesthetic needs?; (3) To what extent does Flaubert utilize landscape description within the genre of the novel?; and (4) What is the specific nature of the landscapes described by Flaubert within the spatial system or organization in question?

That Flaubert accepts the fundamental spatial and aesthetic principles of composition formulated during the Renaissance and regards them as a valid basis for the creation of art is manifest, first of all, in the forms of the descriptions of landscape in Madame Bovary. With reference to structure, those landscapes can be divided into two types: (1) independent landscapes and (2) sequential landscapes. An independent landscape is one which is described by a stationary spectator and which, in accordance with the customary Renaissance practice, is divided into foreground, middle ground, and background. Landscapes of this type are

frequent in the French novel from the late eighteenth century up to the time of Flaubert.¹⁰ Their structural form clearly reveals an acceptance of the inherited spatial and aesthetic legacy of the Renaissance. Consider, for example, the description of what Charles Bovary sees from the window of his room in Rouen on warm evenings when the streets are empty ("Dans les beaux soirs d'été... qui ne venaient pas jusqu'à lui."). In that description the system of space represented is closed, geometric, and unified by the laws of single viewpoint linear perspective. The three-dimensionality of the scene is underlined by the expressions: "en bas," "sous lui," "au bord (de la rivière)," "sur des perches partant du haut des greniers," "en face," "au-delà des toits," and "là-bas." Similarly, the description of the Vaubyessard chateau is an independent landscape ("Le château, de construction moderne... de l'ancien château démoli."). In that description, which, like the preceding example, is divided into three separate grounds, the following expressions are utilized by Flaubert to establish spatial three-dimensionality: "au bas de," "entre des bouquets," "sur la ligne courbe du chemin," "sous un pont," "à travers la brume," "en pente douce," "par derrière," and "sur deux lignes parallèles."

A sequential landscape is one which is described by a mobile spectator and which is divided not into separate grounds but rather into tableaux. Unlike the form of the independent landscape, which is inherited by Flaubert from the practice of Chateaubriand,

Balzac, and Stendhal, among others, that of the sequential landscape is one that is discovered by Flaubert. That structural form is inherent in the description of the arrival of Charles and Emma in Yonville-l'Abbaye at the beginning of Part II. The five landscape tableaux into which this description is divided are as follows: (1) Yonville seen in relationship to the city of Rouen--Yonville is eight leagues from Rouen and is located in a valley; (2) Yonville seen from the summit of the Leux hill--Yonville is in a valley between the road leading to Abbeville and the one leading to Beauvais; the Rieule river divides the valley in two. To the East are grain fields and to the West are the farms; the forest of Argueil is straight ahead. The principal road leading into Yonville is the one which joins the Abbeville road with that of Amiens; (3) Yonville seen from the bottom of the hill, after the bridge--the houses of Yonville which are located on the road between the bridge and the square; (4) Yonville seen from the entrance to the square--the village church, the cemetery; (5) Yonville seen from the square--the market buildings, the mayor's office, the Lion d'Or, the pharmacy of M. Homais. The objects represented in each of these tableaux, it must be understood, are described from a single point of view by a stationary spectator and are spatially interrelated within a closed and independent system of space. In the description of what Charles and Emma see from the top of the Leux hill, for

example, the following expressions, among others, are indicative of Flaubert's acceptance of the three-dimensional Renaissance type pattern: "à gauche," "à droite," "sous," "par derrière," "du côté de l'est," "à perte de vue," "au bord de l'herbe," "au bout de l'horizon," "devant soi," and "du haut en bas." That same tableau is, however, one component of a spatially and temporally interrelated sequence of landscape tableaux which together represent a comprehensive description of what Charles and Emma see at five different times in their linear movement along the road leading into Yonville-l'Abbaye. In this description of Yonville-l'Abbaye, a "paysage en mouvement," as in many others in Madame Bovary, Flaubert, by means of a mobile spectator who moves not only through space but also through time, enriches the spatial and aesthetic legacy of the Renaissance by setting that space picture in motion. In so doing, Flaubert, like Stendhal in certain descriptions of landscape in La Chartreuse de Parme (what Fabrice sees from the windows of the governor's palace; what Fabrice sees from the church tower on the feast day of Saint Giovita; and what Fabrice sees from the windows of the Farnese prison), experiments, whether consciously or unconsciously, with fixed viewpoint linear perspective within the Renaissance space picture. In Stendhal it is the visual field of the stationary spectator which is set in motion by means of panoramic and telescopic vision. In this description of Yonville-l'Abbaye it is the spectator himself who moves. This descriptive technique

is, as we will demonstrate later in this essay, the foundation of the formal structure of Madame Bovary seen as an autonomous aesthetic phenomenon. Before examining that structure, however, we must first examine the content of the landscape descriptions in Madame Bovary and of the novel itself. In so doing we will ascertain how Flaubert regards man, nature, and the transactions between man and the natural world.

With reference to content the landscapes in Madame Bovary can be divided into two groups: (1) naturalistic landscapes which coincide with Emma's personal needs, desires, and aspirations; and (2) naturalistic landscapes which do not coincide with Emma's psychic needs. That the landscapes in Madame Bovary are naturalistic in quality--more naturalistic than they had ever before been in the novel--is explained, in a large part, by Flaubert's choice of subject for the novel and by the method of observation and description utilized in the presentation of that content.

The circumstances surrounding Flaubert's choice of the story of Eugène Delamare as the primary material of Madame Bovary are briefly these. Having been severely criticized by his friends Louis Bouilhet and Maxime du Camp for the effusive lyricism of the first draft of La Tentation de Saint Antoine, Flaubert, as du Camp reports in his Souvenirs Littéraires, accepted the suggestion made by Bouilhet that he write the story of Delamare--a country doctor from the town of Ry, near Rouen, whose wife Delphine, after love

affairs with a gentleman farmer and a law clerk, had taken poison. In order to present that story Flaubert, first of all, had to carefully establish the milieu in which it would take place. That milieu, unlike the milieux of Atala, René, La Chartreuse de Parme, and La Tentation de Saint Antoine, for example, is neither exotic nor poeticized. Rather, it is the prosaic reality of contemporary provincial France, chosen not because of its associative value but for its intrinsic value. That Flaubert is successful in representing that particular milieu in the genre of the novel has been demonstrated by Jean Canu in great detail. Canu examines the milieux of Madame Bovary with the specific objective of determining how accurately Flaubert represents nineteenth-century Normandy in that novel. Descriptions such as that in which Homais describes the climate of Yonville-l'Abbaye for Charles Bovary ("Le climat... comme des brises de Russie!" p. 117), and that of the houses along the principal street of Yonville-l'Abbaye ("Au bas de la côte... la plus belle du pays." pp. 106-07) are representative of the kind examined by Canu. Having compared descriptions of empirical reality such as those two with numerous geographical, sociological, and anthropological studies, most notably that of Jules Sion entitled Les Paysages de la Normandie Orientale, Canu has determined that--the following is only a partial listing--the meteorological conditions, the geographical names, the geological formations,

the animals, the agricultural products, Emma's wedding, the Comices Agricoles, the city of Rouen, the Rouen cathedral, the vocabulary, the customs and mores, the village of Tostes, as they appear in Madame Bovary, are all accurate representations of nineteenth-century Normandy. Canu concludes his study with the following statement: "Nous avons vu que dans l'ensemble, les renseignements des géographes et des érudits ne contredisent pas les descriptions du romancier. Derrière chaque indication de celui-ci, il est généralement possible de mettre un fait dument constaté, une observation scientifique."¹¹ To modify in any way any aspect of that landscape means, in fact, to change the life of Emma Bovary. Brunetière remarks in Le Roman Naturaliste: "Il se trouve que ce milieu était le vrai milieu, disons le seul, où put vivre et se façonner, et se laisser pétrir aux circonstances, une femme telle que Emma Bovary. Essayez, en effet, de la changer de son milieu; modifiez un seul des éléments qui forment son atmosphère physique et morale; supprimez un seul des menus faits dont elle subit la réaction, sans le savoir elle-même; transformez un seul des personnages dont l'influence inaperçue domine ses réactions, vous avez changé tout le roman."¹² Emma Bovary is thus part of the landscape. She is inseparable from the non-idealized bourgeois reality of nineteenth-century provincial France. She is, as Canu remarks, "une paysanne cauchoise": "Enveloppé d'un paysage bien déterminé et de coutumes précises,

Emma n'est pas un ange en dépit des fadeurs romantiques de Léon, ni une créature satanique, comme elle serait parfois tenté de croire, mais une paysanne cauchoise qui s'est transformée en bourgeoise trop vite."¹² That being the case, Madame Bovary is, therefore, a place novel. That is to say, a novel in which (1) the fictional characters are inseparable from the fictional reality which they inhabit, and (2) that fictional reality is, in turn, inseparable from its historical and empirical prototype, which has been both observed and described as an end in itself by an impartial observer. Atala and René, for example, are not place novels. The fictional characters in those novels are, it cannot be denied, inseparable from the fictional realities which they inhabit. Yet, those largely non-naturalistic and fictionalized realities are not inseparable from an explicit historical prototype because of Chateaubriand's non-objective stance with reference to the content of those novels. Similarly, Illusions Perdues and La Chartreuse de Parme are not place novels. Lucien de Rubempré and Fabrice del Dongo are, in fact, inseparable from the fictional realities in which they are placed. Those fictional realities, however, are not in entirety inseparable from any specific configuration in empirical reality because of the fact that Balzac and Stendhal do not view empirical reality as an end in itself. In Madame Bovary, on the other hand, Emma Bovary is completely inseparable from the fictional reality in which her life is enmeshed.

That fictional reality is, in turn, because of the objectivity inherent in the method of direct observation and description utilized by Flaubert, completely inseparable from a particular spatial configuration in empirical reality. The world of empirical reality in Madame Bovary is neither a vehicle for the expression of a particular religious ideology (e.g., Atala and René), nor is it explicitly a social, economic, or political structure (e.g., Illusions Perdues and La Chartreuse de Parme). Rather, it is, as Flaubert discovered, an end in itself, a valid expression of the whole of life. Madame Bovary is the simultaneous study of three things: (1) a group of fictional characters, (2) a place, (3) the relationship between those characters and that place. Madame Bovary, therefore, represents a complete expression of the naturalistic tendency in art, an artistic style which strives to represent the world of empirical reality, of which man is considered to be an integral part, in its three-dimensional corporeality dependent upon space. That tendency, as Worringer has explained, characterizes the fine arts in only two periods of history--the classical age of Greek sculpture and the art of Western Europe from the Italian Renaissance to the end of the nineteenth century.¹³

The naturalistic landscapes in Madame Bovary--the primary content of the novel--can, as we suggested above, be divided into two categories. We will first examine those which coincide with Emma's personal needs, desires, and aspirations. Emma's tastes in

landscape are, quite naturally, conditioned by her childhood and education. Given her rural environment as a child she grows up in the midst of the "envahissements lyriques de la nature, qui, d'ordinaire, ne nous arrivent que par la traduction des écrivains." As such, it is not surprising that she rejects the Norman countryside as prosaic, devoid of all emotion, and impersonal: "Il fallait qu'elle pût retirer des choses une sorte de profit personnel: et elle rejetait comme inutiles tout ce qui ne contribuait pas à la consommation immédiate de son coeur--étant de tempérament plus sentimentale qu'artiste, cherchant des émotions et non des paysages." She prefers, instead, idealized landscapes of love like those in the historical novels that the old lady who comes to the convent every month to work in the laundry brings with her and which she secretly lends to the older girls. Flaubert describes the content of those novels as follows: "Ce n'étaient qu'amours, amantes, dames persécutées s'évanouissant dans des pavillons solitaires, postillons qu'on tue à tous les relais, chevaux qu'on crève à toutes les pages, forêts sombres, troubles du coeur, serments, sanglots, larmes et baisers, nacelles au clair de lune, rossignols dans les bosquets, messieurs braves comme des lions, doux comme des agneaux, vertueux comme on ne l'est pas, toujours bien mis, et qui pleurent comme des urnes." The landscapes in those historical novels as well as those represented in the autograph albums that some of Emma's friends at the convent received as presents and which all the girls secretly read in the dormitory are summarily described

by Flaubert as "paysages blafards des contrées dithyrambiques." Given Emma's disgust for the ordinary world of empirical reality and her concomitant admiration for the idealized and romantic environments and landscapes of her convent readings. It follows that, having left the convent, she seeks within the context of empirical reality the equivalent of the fictional landscapes of her readings. Like René, she seeks, above all, a landscape which incarnates happiness: "Il lui semblait que certains lieux sur la terre devaient produire du bonheur, comme une plante particulière au sol qui pousse mal tout autre part... Ne fallait-il pas à l'amour, comme aux plantes indiennes, de terrains préparés, une température particulière?" Not having found the idealized landscapes she dreams of in Tostes subsequent to her marriage to Charles Bovary, Emma longs for the faraway places of her romantic and historical readings. For Emma there is a direct relationship not only between romantic and exotic environments and happiness, but also between distant landscapes and happiness: "Plus les choses, d'ailleurs, étaient voisines, plus sa pensée s'en détournait. Tout ce qui l'entourait immédiatement, campagne ennuyeuse, petits bourgeois imbéciles, médiocrité de l'existence, lui semblait une exception dans le monde, un hasard particulier où elle se trouvait prise, tandis qu'au delà s'étendait à perte de vue l'immense pays des félicités et des passions." (pp. 91-92) The spatial focal point of Emma's desires, the landscapes which, in her opinion, will doubtless incarnate her psychic needs, is Paris. "Paris, plus

vaste que l'océan, miroitait donc aux yeux d'Emma, dans une atmosphère vermeille... C'était une existence au-dessus des autres, entre ciel et terre, dans les orages, quelque chose de sublime. Quant au reste du monde, il était perdu, sans place précise et comme n'existant pas." The moments in Emma's life, however, when she finds within empirical reality landscapes which coincide with her psychic needs are not numerous. Only on four occasions does Emma see herself as belonging to an idealized landscape, a fictional reality: (1) at the ball at Vaubyessard; (2) when Emma and Rodolphe ride on horseback in the country six weeks after the Comices Agricoles--"Elle entraît dans quelque chose de merveilleux où tout serait passion, extase, délire; une immensité bleuâtre l'entourait... l'existence ordinaire n'apparaissait qu'au loin... Alors elle se rappela les héroïnes des livres qu'elle avait lus, et la légion lyrique de ces femmes adultères se mit à chanter dans sa mémoire avec des voix de soeurs qui la charmaient. Elle devenait elle-même comme une partie véritable de ces imaginations et réalisait la longue rêverie de sa jeunesse, en se considérant dans ce type d'amoureuse qu'elle avait tant envié."; (3) in the opera house in Rouen when Emma and Charles attend a performance of Lucia di Lammermoor--"Elle se retrouvait dans les lectures de sa jeunesse, en plein Walter Scott."; (4) when Emma goes to Rouen to see Léon. Not only is the city of Rouen transformed into a landscape of love and enchantement by Emma's psychic state, it becomes, as well, a fictional reality, a painting, an ancient Babylon--"Son amour

s'agrandissait devant l'espace, et s'emplissait de tumulte aux bourdonnements vagues qui montaient. Elle le reversait au dehors, sur les places, sur les promenades, sur les rues, et la vieille cité normande s'étalait à ses yeux comme une capitale démesurée, comme une Babylone où elle entraît." Having found, then, a landscape of love comparable to those in her historical and romantic readings, Emma becomes, not only in her own eyes but also for Léon, a fictional heroine--"Elle était l'amoureuse de tous les romans, l'héroïne de tous les drames, le vague elle de tous les volumes de vers. Il retrouvait sur ses épaules la couleur ambrée de l'odalisque au bain..." With the exception of the four landscapes discussed above, however, Emma is at all times surrounded by a series of naturalistic landscapes which do not coincide with her psychic needs and with which she is in a state of disharmony. Examples of this second kind of naturalistic landscape in Madame Bovary need not be given. What must not be forgotten, however, is that this kind of landscape is the primary content of the novel. The futility of Emma's repeated attempts to flee from that sequence of landscapes into an absolute is underlined, as we will now demonstrate, by the structural form of the novel itself, seen as an autonomous aesthetic phenomenon. That structural form, like the form of the landscapes of which the novel is composed, implicitly underlines the thesis that Flaubert accepts as a valid basis for the creation of art the fundamental spatial and aesthetic principles established at the time of the Renaissance.

1346-1349: Reading list
for Master of arts degree
from Indiana University.

All new Ph.D. candidates at
IU. had to take the I.U.
M.A. exam. I did, and
because we had to go through
the process of studying for
and taking the exam, several
of my colleagues and I
insisted that I.U. grant
us masters degrees. Hence
I have two M.A.s.

1346

EXAMEN POUR LE TITRE DE MASTER OF ARTS

Option littéraire et option littérature-linguistique

Les candidats à l'option littéraire auront à analyser un texte et à répondre en français à des questions de poétique, de rhétorique, et de stylistique portant sur ce texte

et à rédiger trois compositions, dont une en français, portant sur des sujets choisis dans trois périodes différentes. Deux sujets au choix seront donnés dans chacune des six périodes.

Durée: 4 heures

Les candidats à l'option littérature-linguistique auront à répondre à des questions de linguistique

et à rédiger deux compositions, dont une en français, portant sur des sujets choisis dans deux périodes différentes. Les sujets proposés, ainsi que le texte à analyser, seront les mêmes que pour les candidats à l'autre option.

Durée: 4 heures

Ouvrages pouvant aider à préparer la partie rhétorique, poétique et stylistique de l'examen:

Morier, Dictionnaire de rhétorique et de poétique
Elwert, W. T., Traité de versification française (trad. fr. 1965)
Suberville, J., Histoire et théorie de la versification française.
Le Hir, Y., Rhétorique et stylistique
France, Peter, Racine's Rhetoric
Hubert, Judd, L'Esthétique des Fleurs du mal
Dufau, M. and D'Alelio, E., Découverte du poème
Sareil, J., Explication de texte

Effective Date: Sept., 1969

PROGRAMME POUR LE TITRE DE MASTER OF ARTS.

Le Moyen-Age:

Oeuvres

Vie de Saint Alexis
 Chanson de Roland
 Lyric poetry in the Cluzel-Pressouyre anthology
 Jeu D'Adam
 Marie de France LAIS (Equitan, LeFresne, Les deus amanz, Laüstic, Chevrefoil, Eliduc)
 Chrestien de Troyes, (Two works)
 Villon, Poésies diverses, Testament.

Seizième siècle:

Oeuvres

Les Essais, Montaigne; (Livres II, III)
 Les Oeuvres, Rabelais. (Livres I-IV)
 Les Antiquitez de Rome, Les Regrets, du Bellay.
 Les Amours, Les Discours, Ronsard.
 Sélections d'anthologie: Marot, Scève, Belleau, Jodelle, du Bartas, d'Aubigné, Desportes.
 L'Heptaméron, Marguerite de Navarre.

Etudes

Une étude critique sur chacun des auteurs majeurs signalés, e.g., dans la collection "Connaissance des Lettres."
 Une étude d'ensemble, telle que La Littérature de la Renaissance de V.-L. Saulnier dans la collection "Que sais-je?"

Dix-septième siècle:

Oeuvres

de La Fontaine: Les Fables
 Mme de La Fayette: La Princesse de Clèves
 Boileau: L'Art poétique
 Sévigné: Lettres (selections)
 La Bruyère: Les Caractères (sélections).

Auteurs

Corneille
 Racine
 Molière
 Pascal

Quatre ou cinq pièces de chacun des auteurs dramatiques, y compris au moins une comédie de Corneille, Les Provinciales (selections), et Les Pensées (selections).

Une étude critique sur chacun des auteurs, e.g. dans les collections par lui-même (Editions du Seuil) ou Connaissance des Lettres (Hatier).

Histoire

Un livre sur l'histoire sociale, économique, et politique du dix-septième siècle en France, comme W. H. Lewis The Splendid Century ou John Lough An Introduction to Seventeenth Century France.

Dix-huitième siècleOeuvres

Ellows and Torrey: The Age of Enlightenment. (Appleton, Century, Crofts, Toutes les sélections).
 Marivaux: Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard.
 Abne Prévost: Manon Lescaut
 Voltaire: Contes et romans (Zadig, Micromégas, Candide, L'Ingénu)
 Diderot: Jacques le fataliste
 Rousseau: Les Confessions (Classiques Larousse)
 Beaumarchais: Le Mariage de Figaro
 Laclos: Les Liaisons dangereuses

Etudes

Une étude critique sur chacun des auteurs, e.g. dans les collections par lui-même (éditions du Seuil) ou Connaissance des lettres (Hatier).

Le dix-neuvième siècleRomanciers

Balzac: Le Père Goriot, Illusions perdues, Le Curé de Tours
 Flaubert: Madame Bovary, L'Education sentimentale, Un Coeur simple
 Stendhal: Le Rouge et le Noir, La Chartreuse de Parme
 Zola: Germinal

Etudes

Harry Levin, The Gates of Horn
 S. Rogers, Balzac
 V. Brombert, Ed., Stendhal, Twentieth-Century Views.

Poètes

Un choix de poèmes de Vigny, Hugo, Baudelaire, Verlaine, Rimbaud, Mallarmé. De convenables choix annotés se trouvent dans Grant, French Poetry of the Nineteenth-Century ou dans la série des Classiques Larousse.

Pour les poètes difficiles (Rimbaud, Mallarmé) vous n'êtes tenu que de connaître bien quelques poèmes très importants tels que "L'Après-midi d'un faune" ou "Le Bateau ivre".

1349

3

Vingtième siècle

Oeuvres

Gide. Les Caves du Vatican
Sartre. Les Mains sales
Malraux. La Condition humaine
Aragon. Les Yeux d'Elsa
S. de Beauvoir. Pour une morale de l'ambiguïté

Valéry. Charmes
Céline. Voyage au bout de la nuit
Duras. Moderato cantabile

My Ph.D. exam at C.U.

Twelve-hour written exam;
two-hour oral exam.

p. 1351 - about the exam

pp. 1352-53 - Reading list for
Ph.D. exam

1351
1877 # 53

EXAMEN DE DOCTORAT EN LITTÉRATURE

La préparation de l'examen se concentrera sur un certain nombre de sujets, selon un programme qui pourra être modifié avec 6 mois de préavis au moins.

L'examen comportera une partie écrite et une partie orale, le programme d'études étant le même pour les deux parties. Les candidats ayant réussi aux épreuves écrites seront déclarés admissibles à l'oral. Il y aura deux sessions, l'une au début du semestre d'automne, l'autre au début du semestre de printemps. Les candidats devront s'inscrire au secrétariat, en mai pour la session d'octobre, en décembre pour la session de février.

Les épreuves écrites comporteront 3 explications et 3 compositions (une au moins en français). Elles dureront 12 heures et seront normalement réparties sur les deux premiers samedis après la rentrée des classes. Les compositions seront traitées le premier samedi de 9 à 13 h. et de 14 à 16 h., et les explications selon le même horaire le second samedi.

--La répartition des textes d'explication et des sujets de composition selon les périodes variera selon les sessions et ne sera pas annoncée.

Les résultats des épreuves écrites seront annoncés à la fin de la semaine qui suivra le second samedi. Les candidats seront avisés aussi promptement que possible (par téléphone, par exemple) des décisions des examinateurs. Les candidats déclarés admissibles passeront l'épreuve orale dans le courant de la semaine suivant cette annonce. L'épreuve orale sera en français; durée: 2 heures

September, 1969

September, 1969

EXAMEN DE DOCTORAT
PROGRAMME DES EPREUVES DE LITTERATURE

MOYEN AGE

TEXTS

Beginnings:

~~Sainte Eulalie~~
~~Saint Alexis~~ — get Hatcher's article

Epic:

~~La Chanson de Roland~~ — article in Auerbach.
~~Cormont et Isembart~~ — end May 12
~~Couronnement de Louis~~ 113.

Romance:

~~Romans d'Antiquité~~ (excerpts in Henry, Chrestomathie, Part V)
~~Yvain (Chrétien)~~ — article in Auerbach.
~~Lancelot (Chrétien)~~
~~Le Roman de Tristan~~ (Bédier's reconstruction in Modern French)
~~Les Lais de Marie de France~~
~~Le Lai de l'Ombre de Jean Renard~~
~~Le Roman de la Rose~~ (Part I in Old French, Part II in Modern French or English)
~~La Mort le Roi Artu~~

Lyric:

~~Poètes et romanciers du Moyen Age~~ (Pléiade, pp. 825-1110)
~~Le Lais et Le Testament de François Villon~~

Theatre

~~Jeu d'Adam~~ — article in Auerbach
~~Jeu de Théophile de Rutebeuf~~ — Jolliffe
~~Jeu de la Feuillée d'Adam de la Halle~~ C.L.
~~Rathelin~~ C.L.

Fabliaux and Related Texts:

~~Ten fabliaux from the collections of Reid or Johnston and Owen~~
~~Les Quinze joies de mariage~~ (Bédier)
~~Le Petit Jean de Saintré d'Antoine de la Salle~~ — pedagogical novel / love story
~~Ten selections from Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles~~ (Zola) — see Auerbach
~~Branch II of the Roman de Renart~~

CRITICAL WORKS

7/1529 → A. Gunn, The Mirror of Love: A Reinterpretation of the Romance of the Rose. (Lubbock [Texas], 1952)
997 E. Auerbach. Mimesis (New York, 1957).

September, 1969

MOYEN AGE (continued)

CRITICAL WORKS

- Ernest Curtius. European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (New York, 1953)
 Charles H. Haskins. The Renaissance of the 12th Century (New York, 1957)
 Jean Seznec. La Survivance des dieux antiques (especially Book I)
 A History of old French literature
 J. Huizinga. The Waning of the Middle Ages (New York, 1954).
 Dorothy Bethurum, ed. Critical Approaches to Medieval Literature (New York, 1960). [English Institute Papers, 1958-1959]
 C. S. Lewis. The Discarded Image (Oxford, 1964).

XVI^e SIECLE

1. Rabelais
2. Marot
3. Du Bellay (surtout Antiquités, Regrets)
4. Montaigne (surtout Livres II et III)
5. D'Aubigné

XVII^e SIECLE

1. La Tradition moraliste
2. La poésie avant 1660
3. Corneille
4. Les Pensées de Pascal
5. La Fontaine

XVIII^e SIECLE

1. Le roman de Lesage à Bernardin de Saint-Pierre
2. Voltaire: Lettres philosophiques - Dictionnaire philosophique
3. Diderot: Oeuvres philosophiques (ed. Garnier)
4. Rousseau: Les Discours - Les Confessions
5. Théâtre de Beaumarchais

XIX^e SIECLE

1. Stendhal
2. Baudelaire
3. Realism and naturalism
4. Musset: Théâtre; Gautier: Comédie de la mort
5. Rimbaud: Illuminations; Verlaine: Jadis et naguère; Mallarmé: Un coup de dés

XX^e SIECLE

1. Apollinaire, Alcools
2. Le Théâtre de Giraudoux
3. Sartre, Situations I, II, III
4. Roman et anti-roman de 1945 à 1962

1354

The exam

Examen de doctorat en littérature

septembre 1969

Second Samedi: 3 explications.

Samedi matin: 9 - 13

*Equitan is Knight**fall in love with
the Seneschal's
wife*

'Allas,' fet il, 'queil destinee
M'amenat en ceste cuntree? *lane*
Pur ceste dame que ai *veüe*
M'est un' anguisse al quor ferue *I have anguish
in my heart*

5 Que tut le cors me fet trembler.

Jeo *quit* que mei l'estuet amer *I have to love her*E si jo l'aim, jeo ferai mal: *If I love her I will do evil*

Ceo est la femme al seneschal.

Garder li dei amur e fei,

Si cum jeo voil k'il face a mei.

Si par nul engin le saveit,

Bien sai que mut l'en pesereit. *It would weigh on him.*Mes ne purquant pis *iert* asez *it would be much worse*Que pur li seië afolez. *(les acide)*

15 Si bele dame tant mar fust,

S'ele n'amast u dru elüsti *It would be a pity if such a
beautiful woman didn't*

Que devendreit sa curteisie,

S'ele n'amast de druerie? *what
to do. Have a lover*

Suz ciel n'ad humme, s'ele amast,

20 Ki durement n'en amendast.

Li seneschal, si l'ot cunter,

Ne l'en deit mie trop peser;

Sul ne la peot il nient tenir:

Certes jeo voilod li partir.

I. Translate the first eighteen lines of the passage.

II. Comment on the phonological development of 2 of the following forms:

1. 6 quit (< cōgīto)

1. 7 fei (< fīdem) *fide.*

1. 7 aim (< amo)

Account for the ultimate disappearance of the verb form *iert* (l.13).*confusion with
imperf*III. The preceding passage is from Equitan. In writing your explication include the following:

a. place the speech in context

b. explain its significance to the "lais"

c. comment on the relevance of the passage to the treatment of love in the entire collection *Equitan doesn't have an ideal affair
with the Seneschal's wife*d. discuss its relevance to a consideration of love in mediaeval terms. *especially*

Be sure to cite specific lines in support of your essay and pay close attention to the development of thought in the meditation.

*use
enjoy*

Examen de doctorat

septembre 1969

Second Samedi: 3 explications:

Samedi matin: 9 - 13.

jour de soir vs jour de soleil.
 funeste visage vs aube avec son
 teint brunet
 orné de fleurs de
 Paradis.

Voici venir le jour, jour que les destinées
 Voyaient, à bas sourcils, glisser de deux années,
 Le jour marqué de noir, le terme des appas,
 Qui voulut être nuit, et tourner sur ses pas;
 Jour qui avec horreur parmi les jours se conte,
 Qui se marque de rouge et rougit de sa honte,
 L'aube se veut lever, aube qui eut jadis
 Son teint brunet orné de fleurs de Paradis,
 Quand, par son treillis d'or la rose cramoisie
 Eclatait, on disait: "Voici ou vent, ou pluie,"
 Cette aube que la mort vient armer et coiffer
 D'étincellants brasiers ou de tisons d'enfer,
 Pour ne démentir point son funeste visage,
 Fit ses vents de soupirs, et de sang son orage,
 Elle tire en tremblant du monde le rideau;
 Et le soleil, voyant le spectacle nouveau,
 A regret éleva son pâle front des ondes
 Transi de se mirer en nos larmes profondes,
 D'y baigner ses rayons, oui, le pâle soleil
 Prêta non le flambeau, mais la torche de l'oeil;
 Encor, pour n'y montrer le beau de son visage,
 Tira le voile en l'air d'un louche épais nuage.

the end of suffering

transition down vs
 judgement down

3;
 3;

end of the world.

Pale soleil vs judgement
 day

D'Aubigné, Les Tragiques

1. Les images.
2. Autres procédés de style.
3. Les thèmes.

Emotional
 Certainties

style follows content
 which follows history
 which is violent.

→ alexandrine beauty +
 choppy.

\$5000 ATT Theatre de l'abandon
(détente → humanity)
never really given
EXAMINATION
Examen de doctorat en littérature

5

1357

anti-
intellectual
feel & not
understand

Second Samedi: 3 explications.

Samedi après-midi: 14 - 16.

Words are
symbols

20e siècle:

Crime - volontaire
faute - involontaire

the early 20th century
the whole
of a divine
figure into the
gods.

septembre 1969

incohérence du langage

pregnant young dog
then he's

Ce n'est pas par des crimes qu'un peuple se met en situation fautive avec son destin, mais par des fautes. Son armée est forte, sa caisse abondante, ses poètes en plein fonctionnement. Mais un jour, on ne sait pourquoi, du fait que ses citoyens coupent méchamment les arbres, que son prince enlève vilainement une femme, que ses enfants adoptent une mauvaise turbulence, il est perdu. Les nations, comme les hommes, meurent d'imperceptibles (grandes) impoliteesses. C'est à leur façon d'éternuer ou d'écarter leurs talons que se reconnaissent les peuples condamnés... Vous avez sans doute mal enlevé (came off) Hélène...

Ulysse, dans La Guerre de Troie n'aura pas lieu, (acte II, scène 13)

- Traduire en anglais, à partir de "C'est à leur façon d'éternuer..." jusqu'à la fin.
- Situer le passage. — all hope is lost — Pallos — Keep them together — aphrodisiac — rubens — determine
- Sur la base de la signification ordinaire du mot "destin", montrer les incohérences du texte, en particulier la contradiction latente dans l'expression "se mettre en situation fautive avec son destin". — form more than content.
- Ulysse comme rhéteur (construction et remplissage des phrases). — Maître du langage
- Ulysse comme esthète (sa conception de l'histoire).

literary
Rhetoric
telling
pretext
elegant

determinisme
all hope is lost
men are
not free.

How can you be
determined
if all is determined
determined
all hope is lost
men are not free.

faute esthétique —
Ulysse uses literary
language.

Ulysse uses
the Helen bow to
the Helen bow
all is futile
war is a
Helen is a
creature of destiny &
you have come her off
bodily

Examen de doctorat

Samedi 7, matin:

Moyen-Age:

1. According to Gunn's thesis, what is the relationship between the first and second parts of the Roman de la Rose? In what respect was this a significant change from previous criticism?
2. You are about to undertake an intensive study of the Chanson de Roland in a course in Old French literature which you are teaching. How will you proceed? Discuss problems to be treated, critical approaches, bibliography, topics for term papers, etc.

XVIIe siècle:

1. Résumez avec une certaine précision les bases de la théologie pascalienne.
2. Malherbe, poète et théoricien.

Examen de doctorat

Mardi 10, matin:

XVIIIe siècle:

1. La méthode de Jean-Jacques Rousseau dans le Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité.
2. Le vice et la vertu dans trois romans de votre choix (au moins deux auteurs différents).

XXe siècle:

1. Si, par "roman," on entend, à la base, un récit d'événements fictifs chronologiquement ordonnés, quels ouvrages, étiquetés "nouveaux romans" ou "anti-romans" par la critique, et publiés depuis 1945, avez-vous lus, qui ne sont pas des romans. En quoi?
2. Le métalangage (langage portant sur le langage) dans le théâtre de Giraudoux. Donner des exemples. En quoi cet aspect contribue-t-il à caractériser ce théâtre?

Examen de doctorat

Samedi 7, après-midi:

XVI^e siècle:

(b) Les autres forment l'homme; je le recite et en représente un particulier mal formé, et lequel, si j'avoy a façonner de nouveau, je ferois vraiment bien autre qu'il n'est. Mes-huy c'est fait. Or les traits de ma peinture ne forvoyent point, quoy qu'ils se changent et diversifient. Le monde n'est qu'une branloire perenne. Toutes choses y branlent sans cesse: la terre, les rochers du Ca les pyramides d'AEgypte, et du branle public et du leur. La constance mes autre chose qu'un branle plus languissant. Je ne puis asseurer mon object. trouble et chancelant, d'une yvresse naturelle. Je le prens en ce point, est, en l'instant que je m'amuse à luy. Je ne peints pas l'estre. Je peins passage: non un passage d'aage en autre, ou, comme dict le peuple, de sept en sept ans, mais de jour en jour, de minute en minute. Il faut accommoder mon histoire à l'heure. Je pourray tantost changer, non de fortune seulement, mais aussi d'intention. C'est un contrerolle de divers et muables accidens et d'imaginationes irresolues et, quand il y eschet, contraires; soit que je sois autre moymesme, soit que je saisisse les subjects par autres circonstances et considerations. Tant y a que je me contredits bien à l'aventure, mais la vérité, comme disoit Demades¹, je ne la contredy point. Si mon ame pouvoit prendre pied, je ne m'essaierois pas, je me resoudrois; elle est tousjours en apprentissage et en espreuve. Je propose une vie basse et sans lustre, c'est tout un. On attache aussi bien toute la philosophie morale à une vie populaire et privée que à une vie de plus riche estoffe; chaque homme porte la forme entiere de l'humaine condition.

(c) Les auteurs se communiquent au peuple par quelque marque particuliere et estrangere; moy, le premier, par mon estre universel, comme Michel de Montaigne, non comme grammairien, ou poëte, ou jurisconsulte. Si le monde se plaint de quoy je parle trop de moy, je me plains de quoy il ne pense seulement pas à soy.

Du Repentir

- 1) Selon Plutarque, Vie de Démosthène, III. Démade disait "qu'il avait pu souvent se contredire lui-même, mais jamais l'intérêt public."

Expliquez cet extrait des Essais. Prenez les questions ci-dessous pour guides.

1. De quel livre des Essais ce passage est-il tiré?
2. Indiquez et commentez le thème général de cet essai.
3. Expliquez:
 - = (b), (c)
 - = " Or les traits de ma peinture ne forvoyent point".
 - = " et du branle public et du leur".
 - = " un contrerolle de divers et muables accidens et d'imaginationes irresolues"
 - = " je propose une vie basse et sans lustre"
 - = " se communiquent au peuple par quelque marque particuliere et estrangere"
4. Commentez les passages soulignés.
5. Dans la dernière phrase Montaigne semble prévoir la réaction de la critique. Peut-on absoudre Montaigne de l'accusation d'égoïsme?

Examen de doctorat

Mardi 10, après-midi:

XIXe siècle:

Sonnet boiteux

Ah! vraiment c'est triste, ah! vraiment ça finit trop mal.

Il n'est pas permis d'être à ce point infortuné.

Ah! vraiment c'est trop la mort du naïf animal

Qui voit tout son sang couler sous son regard fané.

Londres fume et crie. O quelle ville de la Bible!

Le gaz flambe et nage et les enseignes sont vermeilles.

Et les maisons dans leur ratatinement terrible

Epouvantent comme un sénat de petites vieilles.

Tout l'affreux passé saute, piaule, miaule et glapit

Dans le brouillard rose et jaune et sale des sohos

Avec des indeeds et des all rights et des haôs.

Non vraiment c'est trop un martyr sans espérance,

Non vraiment cela finit trop mal, vraiment c'est triste:

O le feu du ciel sur cette ville de la Bible! —

--Verlaine

Nota bene. Soho: quartier mi-bohémien, mi-étranger de Londres;
haôs: sans doute une transcription de Oh, prononcé à l'anglaise.

Commenter:

1. le vers
2. les rimes
3. l'allusion à la Bible
4. l'arrière-fond autobiographique
5. la structure du sonnet et la disposition des images



Indiana University

Office of the Registrar

To Whom It May Concern:

This is to certify that S. Robert Powell
received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, French
from this University August 31, 1974

Warren W. Shurey
Registrar, Indiana University

Indiana University Bloomington

Graduate School

To all who may read these letters, Greeting:
hereby it is certified that upon the recommendation of the Faculty,
the Trustees of Indiana University have conferred upon

S. Robert Howell

the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

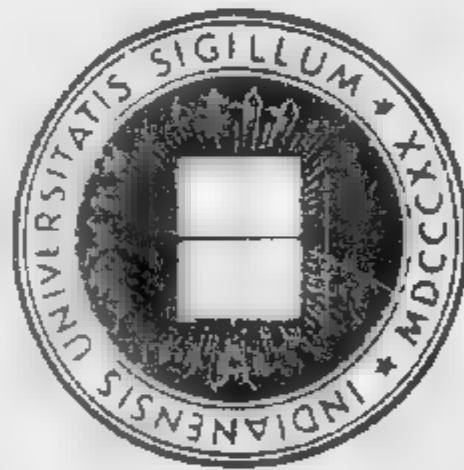
in recognition of the fulfillment of the requirements for this degree.

In Witness Whereof, this diploma is given at

Bloomington, Indiana, August 31, 1974.

Harry C. Yarnaguchi
Dean

Attest:
S. R. Howell
Secretary of the Trustees



David S. Price
President
Dwight E. Carter
Chancellor

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS

Given on the following 12 pages are some papers that I located in my résumé file last night (03-25-99). I have decided to include them here.

1364 Letter from Professor Frey to me, dated January 18, 1991. I wrote to him to get a letter of recommendation as part of a job search undertaken in 1991. I studied under Professor Frey at George Washington University. No other professor—no other person, for that matter—has ever had such a strong impact on my intellectual development and perspective. He changed my life. I shall forever be indebted to him. He opened doors for me that I didn't even know existed.

1365 Professor Frey's recommendation, January 25, 1990. In it, he states:

"... I was proud to direct his AM thesis on Zola and Impressionism, enough so to include part of his analysis in my book on Zola. Participating in the Zola symposium at Georgetown just three years ago made me realize how pioneering Powell's work was at the MA level. He has an extraordinary control of the relationship between the visual arts and literature. . . "

1366 Recommendation from Senator Robert J. Mellow, January 29, 1990

1367 SRP's appointment as Visiting Assistant Professor of French at Susquehanna University, December 20, 1990

1368 SRP's professional certificate to teach French in the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, issued August 1984

1369 SRP's certificate of qualification to teach French in the state of New York, effective 02-01-1990

1370-1371 SRP's résumé from the period when he taught at the Worthington Scranton campus of Penn State; also at Luzerne County Community College

1372-1374 SRP's résumé during the ICS years

1375 Another SRP résumé (on one page) from the ICS years



DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES & LITERATURES

Friday, January 18, 1991

Dear Robert,

I received your letter this morning. It is always good to hear from you, but especially good this time with the wonderful news of your appointment at Susquehanna University. Your schedule sounds interesting, and I know that you are willing and eager to tell your students something about the nineteenth-century in France. Good luck with the application for the tenure track position.

Here things go along as usual. After suspending our graduate program (our initiative) in order to rewrite it we are ready to reopen in the fall of 1991, with a new orientation towards what the French call the Human Sciences. I think it will be quite an innovative graduate program.

There are many new faculty faces, most of the people you knew are either dead or somewhere else. Can you imagine that I am now senior professor in this department. My schedule is not too interesting this term, a fourth semester language course, graduate French reading course (French 49) and a course in textual analysis.

But I should be grateful that I am out of the chair. I ran the department from 1983-1989, and managed to write a book on Victor Hugo at the same time.

I am now awaiting word from the National Endowment for the Humanities. I have applied for a grant which would allow me to take a year sabbatical in order to complete a project on Renan.

Best wishes for the New Year 1991, and should you ever come down to Washington please look me up. I live at the same place, 225 9th St. S.E. on Capitol Hill and my phone is (202) 547-2780.

Sincerely,

1365

REFERENCE

Candidate's Name

Last Powell First S. Middle Robert
 Mailing Address: Street R. D. 1, Box 48E City Union Dale
 State PA Zip 18470 Social Security 198-34-0586

"I hereby request that Dr. John A. Frey write a letter of reference on my behalf to support my application for employment within the field of Education."

Under the provisions of the Family Education Rights & Privacy Act (must check one),

☒ I have retained my right of access to this letter, OR

☐ I have waived my right of access to this letter.

Candidate's Signature Robert Powell Date 1-22-1990

It has been a long time since I have been in contact with S. Robert Powell, but I still remember him as a very superior student. I was proud to direct his AM thesis on Zola and Impressionism, enough so to include part of his analysis in my book on Zola. Participating in the Zola symposium at Georgetown just three years ago made me realize how pioneering Powell's work was at the MA level. He has an extraordinary control of the relationship between the visual arts and literature. In fact, his work was so good that when he went to Indiana to do his Ph.D. Indiana awarded him Ph.D. credit for his G.W.U. M.A. thesis, which in those days was most unusual. As I read his up-to-date C.V. I see that he continued to build in his dissertation on the relationship of the arts and literature, especially for the 19th century. I further see that he has a broad range of cultural interests, which is certainly a plus in so far as the field of Romance studies is fashioning itself today.

I am one of his old professors, and I am honored that he would even think to ask me for a recommendation. I feel that I have had some part in his intellectual formation, and I am proud to see what he has done. He finished his Ph.D. at a moment in our field where there were very few job opportunities which I think must explain a certain absence from the field for a certain period of years. That generation should not be penalized for the economic situation that then existed. Now the market is wide open, and I would hope that Colgate will be able to see the value of this scholar. He is well formed, his French is excellent. I observed him teach when he was one of our GTA's. He was excellent; he stayed in French, he was optimistic and encouraging to his students, and he got good results.

As a person I still remember him as a well-balanced personality, a person easy to get along with, possessed of a great sense of humour. Although he worked mainly with Zola for me, I also remember his fine work in a seminar I gave on Diderot's novels. I recommend him strongly to you.

To the Author:

Please type your comments and return this form directly to The Pennsylvania State University, Career Development and Placement Center, 408 Roucke Building, University Park, PA 16802. Do not return this form to the applicant.

Signed John A. Frey Address Romance Languages and Literatures
 Print Name John A. Frey The George Washington University
 Position Professor of Romance Langs. Lits. Phone 202-994-6975 Date January 25, 1990

1366

Democratic Floor Leader

22ND DISTRICT
ROBERT J. MELLOW
SENATE POST OFFICE
THE STATE CAPITOL
HARRISBURG, PA 17120-0030

540 MAIN STREET
PECKVILLE, PA 18452

SCRANTON LIFE BUILDING
SCRANTON, PA 18503



COMMITTEES

RULES AND EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS,
MINORITY CHAIRMAN
FINANCE

Senate of Pennsylvania

January 29, 1990

To Whom It May Concern:

It is with sincere pleasure that I take this opportunity to write on behalf of and recommend for your consideration, S. Robert Powell, R. D. #1, Box 48E, Uniondale, PA 18470.

I have know Mr. Powell for many years and faithfully attest to his character and integrity. He is a conscientious and hard working individual who constantly strives for nothing but perfection.

As you will notice from his most impressive resumé, Bob has shown a long and proven history of academic excellence and practical experience. I find him to be a self-motivated individual, capable of taking charge and excelling in whatever he undertakes.

I am confident of his abilities and believe that he has the skills and mental determination to do a quality job. It is my firm conviction that he would prove himself to be a tremendous asset and I wholeheartedly recommend him, with no reservations.

Thank you for allowing me the opportunity to write on behalf of Mr. Powell, and any consideration given him is greatly appreciated. In the meantime, should you have any further questions, feel free to contact me.

Sincerely,

Robert J. Mellow
Democratic Floor Leader

RJM/et

Enclosure

1367

SUSQUEHANNA UNIVERSITY

SELINGROVE, PENNSYLVANIA 17870

December 20, 1990

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Dr. S. Robert Powell
R. D. 1, Box 48E
Union Dale, Pennsylvania 18470

Dear Dr. Powell:

Upon the recommendation of Dr. Jack Kolbert, Head of the Department of Modern Languages, Dr. Donald Housley, Dean of the School of Arts and Sciences, and Dr. Jeanne Neff, Vice President for Academic Affairs, I am pleased to offer you appointment as Visiting Assistant Professor of French. This temporary, non-tenurable appointment covers full-time service from January 16, 1991, through the University's Commencement in May of 1991.

Your salary will be \$14,500 to be paid in biweekly installments. In addition, for 1990-91, your compensation will include a \$250 cafeteria fringe benefit to be applied toward the cost of Blue Cross-Blue Shield family health insurance coverage or added to your income. The University will also reimburse you in the amount of \$300 for expenses incurred in your move to Selinsgrove.

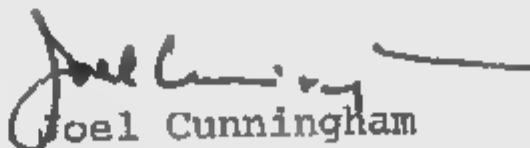
Statements of faculty responsibilities, conditions of employment, and faculty fringe benefits are included in the copy of the Faculty Handbook dated October 1987, mailed to you under separate cover.

Should you have any questions regarding any aspect of your appointment, please feel free to contact Dr. Kolbert, Dr. Housley, or Dr. Neff.

In order to confirm your acceptance of this appointment, please sign and return the enclosed carbon copy of this letter as soon as possible. I am enclosing a Form W-4 which should be completed and returned with the signed copy of this letter. Also enclosed is a Form I-9. Please contact Ms. Elandina Lecce, Director of Human Resources, Extension 4157, regarding an appointment to complete this form. This process may be completed at your convenience, but no later than the close of business the third day following the beginning of your appointment.

I am pleased that you are joining our faculty and look forward to working with you as a colleague.

Sincerely yours,


Joel Cunningham
President

JC/dkm
In duplicate
Enclosures

cc: Mr. Aungst, Dr. Housley, Dr. Kolbert, Dr. Neff, Ms. Lecce, Jamie Rogers

DATE

SIGNATURE

Commonwealth of Pennsylvania



Professional Certificate

This certificate entitles
SILAS R POWELL

to practice the "art of teaching" and render professional service in the
endorsement areas hereon in the schools of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

Type Code	Years Valid	Date Issued	Area of Certification	Type Code	Years Valid	Date Issued	Area of Certification
61	06	08/84	FRENCH				*****
			*****				*****
T C	01 Emergency Limited Special	23 Vocational III	31 Educational Specialist I	40 Standard	80 Provisional	70 Permanent Standard	80 Supervisory II
V O	05 Full-time Special	25 Elem Temp Standard	32 Educational Specialist II	45 Normal Certificate	81 Instructional I	71 Perm B1 Band Limit	81 Administrative I
P D	10 Partial	26 Coordinator I	33 Educational Specialist III	50 Intern	82 Instructional II	75 Permanent Equivalent	82 Administrative II
E E	21 Vocational I	27 Coordinator II	34 Vocational Standard	51 Intern	83 Instructional III	80 Permanent	83 Master's Equivalent
	22 Vocational II	30 State Standard Limited	35 Vocational Intern	55 Provisional Equivalent	85 Normal Diploma	81 Supervisory I	84 Program Specialist
							85 English

00 COMPETENCY AREA REGISTRATION IN CONJUNCTION WITH VOCATIONAL INSTRUCTION
02 WAIVER OF CERTIFICATION GRANTED FOR ONE CALENDAR YEAR ONLY

198-34-586 55 84-013355

Authorized by the Secretary of Education

1368

The University of the State of New York
THE STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
Division of Teacher Education and Certification
Cultural Education Center
Albany, New York 12230

1369

CERTIFICATE OF QUALIFICATION

This Certificate of Qualification is valid for five years from its effective date and is evidence the person identified hereon is eligible for a provisional certificate in the area noted. The person so named will be issued that certificate upon surrender of this Certificate of Qualification at any time during its period of validity.

S. ROBERT POWELL
R.O.# 1, BOX 48E
UNION DALE

PA 184700000

Certificate Number: 198340586
Control Number: 308328901

Effective Date: 02/01/90

Fields: FRENCH 7-12

Comments

1. The Certificate of Qualification during its period of validity may be presented as evidence the holder is eligible for the provisional certificate and subsequent employment in schools of New York State wherein certification is required.

2. The provisional certificate may be obtained at any time the holder surrenders to the Teacher Certification Section the Certificate of Qualification during its period of validity providing Part A is completed by the certificate holder.

3. The provisional certificate must be obtained when the holder accepts a regular part-time or full-time position in the public schools of New York State. In such instance, the valid Certificate of Qualification must be submitted to the chief school officer of the employing school district who, upon completing Part B, will forward it to the Teacher Certification Section so that the provisional certificate can be forwarded to the employee.

4. The five-year validity of the provisional certificate will become effective upon its issuance. The holder must meet the requirements for permanent certification in effect at the time the provisional certificate is issued.

5. The Certificate of Qualification legalizes service as a substitute teacher and as a teaching assistant in the public schools in New York State except in the cities of New York City and Buffalo.

A. I herewith request the issuance of my provisional certificate with an effective date of September 1, 19 ☐ or February 1, 19 ☐ (Check one)

(Signature) _____ (Date)

(Number/Street)

(City/State) _____ (ZIP code)

B. The Board of Education has employed _____ (Holder of Certificate of Qualification)
_____ as a teacher of/in the field of
_____ (Address)
_____ effective _____
(Subject) _____ (Date)
_____ (Chief School Officer) _____ (Date)

Dr. S. Robert Powell
College of Liberal Arts
The Pennsylvania State University
120 Ridge View Drive
Dunmore, PA 18512

Office: 717-963-4756

Home: 717-282-5197

EDUCATION:

- 1961 Diploma, Fell Township High School, Simpson, PA
June 8, 1961
- 1961-1965 Bachelor of Arts in Education (French major)
Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA
June 12, 1965
- 1965-1967 Master of Arts in French
George Washington University, Washington, DC
September 13, 1967
- 1967-1974 Doctor of Philosophy in French Literature
Indiana University, Bloomington, IN
August 31, 1974

Major fields: Nineteenth-century novel, medieval
literature

Minor fields: Phonology, fine arts

Ph.D. Dissertation title: THE RENAISSANCE AND CUBIST
CONCEPTIONS OF SPACE AND ART IN THE NINETEENTH-
CENTURY FRENCH NOVEL (published in 1974)

Member, Pi Delta Phi, National French Honor Society
Member, Phi Sigma Iota, National Foreign Language Honor Society

Travel: Numerous trips to France and Western Europe.

EXPERIENCE:

Teacher:

- 1965-1967 Graduate Teaching Assistant in French
George Washington University, Washington, DC
- 1967-1970 Teaching Assistant in French
Indiana University, Bloomington, IN
- 1970-1971 Assistant Professor of French
State University of New York at Oswego, NY
- 1973-1974 Adjunct Lecturer in Modern Languages
Brooklyn College of the City University of New York
- 1990-1991 Visiting Assistant Professor of French
Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove, PA
- Currently Adjunct faculty, College of Liberal Arts
Pennsylvania State University, Dunmore, PA

Editor:

1971 Publications Assistant, UNICEF, United Nations, NY

1972 Editor: Rights, Permissions and Reviews
American Management Associations, NY

1973-1975 Editor: Multimedia, American Management Associations, NY

1976-1978 Editor: Multimedia, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., NY

1983 Staff Writer, The Carbondale News, Carbondale, PA

Investment Banking:

1979-1980 Blyth Eastman Paine Webber, Inc., New York

1980-1983 Salomon Brothers Inc, New York

PUBLICATIONS:

- author of three books in the field of comparative aesthetics, including COMPARATIVE AESTHETICS: A WORKBOOK, which was published in 1978;
- author of over 100 articles in the field of local history and genealogy;
- created, together with Donald W. Powell, NORTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA, the historical quarterly about the eleven counties of northeastern Pennsylvania; thirteen issues of this historical quarterly were published in the period 1979-1982.

REFERENCES:

Dr. Jack Kolbert, Chair
Department of Modern Languages
Susquehanna University
Selinsgrove, PA 17870

Phone: 717-372-4257

Dr. Donald D. Housley
Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences
Susquehanna University
Selinsgrove, PA 17870

Phone: 717-374-4734

Dr. John A. Frey, Chairman
Department of Romance Languages
and Literatures
George Washington University
T-513, Academic Center, 801 22nd St., NW
Washington, DC 20052

Phone: 202-994-6330

S. Robert Powell

Product Development , ICS Learning Systems, 925 Oak Street, Scranton,
PA 18515. Office: 717-342-7701, ext. 283. Home: 717-282-5197

EDUCATION:

1961 Diploma, Fell Township High School, Simpson, PA
 June 8, 1961

1961-1965 Bachelor of Arts in Education (French major)
 Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA
 June 12, 1965
 Professional Certificate, Instructional I, French,
 Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

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 September 13, 1967

1967-1974 Doctor of Philosophy in French Literature
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 August 31, 1974

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Minor fields: phonology, fine arts

Ph.D Dissertation title: *The Renaissance and Cubist
Conceptions of Space and Art in the Nineteenth-Century
French Novel* (published in 1974)

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Member: Phi Sigma Iota, National Foreign Language Honor
 Society

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- 1967-1970 Teaching Assistant in French
Indiana University, Bloomington, IN
- 1970-1971 Assistant Professor of French
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- 1973-1974 Adjunct Lecturer in Modern Languages
Brooklyn College of the City University of New York
- 1990-1991 Visiting Assistant Professor of French
Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove, PA
- 1992-1995 Adjunct faculty (humanities, philosophy)
College of Liberal Arts
Pennsylvania State University, Dunmore, PA

Editor:

- 1971 Publications Assistant, UNICEF, United Nations, NY
- 1972 Rights, Permissions, and Reviews Editor
American Management Associations, NY
- 1973-1975 Multimedia Editor, American Management Associations, NY
- 1976-1978 Multimedia Editor, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., NY
- 1983 Staff Writer, *Carbondale News*, Carbondale, PA
- 1995-- Editor, Product Development
ICS Learning Systems, Scranton, PA

Investment Banking:

1979-1980 Blyth Eastman Paine Webber, Inc., NY

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- author of over 100 published articles in the field of local history and genealogy
- author of over 100 published articles in the field of animal husbandry
- created, together with Donald W. Powell, NORTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA, the historical quarterly about the eleven counties of northeastern Pennsylvania; 13 issues of this historical quarterly were published in the period 1979-1982

REFERENCES:

Senator Robert J. Mellow
The State Capitol
Harrisburg, PA 17120-0030

Phone: 717-346-5721

Congressman Edward G. Staback
300 Betty Street
Eynon, PA 18403

Phone: 717-876-1111

Dr. Jack Kolbert, Chairman
Department of Modern Languages
Susquehanna University
Selinsgrove, PA 17870

Phone: 717-372-4257

Dr. K. Bruce Sherbine
Dean of Academic Affairs
Pennsylvania State University
Dunmore, PA 18512

Phone: 717-963-4756

S. Robert Powell

R. D. 1, Box 40, Carbondale, PA 18407-9706. 717-282-5197, srobertpowell@juno.com

CURRENT POSITION (since 1995)

Editor, Product Development, Harcourt Learning Direct, 925 Oak Street, Scranton, PA 18515. Office 717-342-7701, ext. 283. Lead editor in the following areas:
Professional landscaping, practical English and the command of words, literature, freelance writing, legal secretary, Internet business guide and webpage design, professional secretary, pet grooming, catering and gourmet cooking

EDUCATION

Ph.D. in French Literature, Indiana University
Major fields: nineteenth-century novel, medieval literature
Minor fields: phonology, fine arts
Ph.D. dissertation title: *The Renaissance and Cubist Conceptions of Space and Art in the Nineteenth-Century French Novel*
Member Pi Delta Phi, National French Honor Society
Phi Sigma Iota, National Foreign Language Honor Society

WORK HISTORY

Teacher (French language and literature, philosophy, humanities)

George Washington University, Washington, DC
Indiana University, Bloomington, IN
State University of New York, Oswego, NY
Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove, PA
Penn State University, Dunmore, PA

Editor

Harcourt Learning Direct, Scranton, PA (copy editor in product development)
American Management Associations, NYC (multimedia editor)
Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, NYC (multimedia editor)
several daily and weekly newspapers (staff writer)

Investment Banking

Blyth Eastman Paine Webber (corporate finance)
Salomon Brothers (corporate finance)

PUBLICATIONS

Author of over 200 published articles in the fields of animal husbandry, local history, and genealogy; author of two books in the field of comparative aesthetics; creator of NORTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA, the historical quarterly about the 11 counties of northeastern Pennsylvania

WHERE AND WHEN

Given on the following 17 pages is a listing of where I have lived and a summary outline of activities and events in my life, from 1943 (when I was born) to 1974 (when I was awarded my Ph.D. in French Literature from Indiana University).

It has taken me years to get this information organized. This chronology has proven to be a very useful organizational/structural frame.

1943 → 1958

12/12/1943 — 8/1961 — just down the road from the Russell Homestead

Home [Riverside Farm
R.D. 1
Carbondale, PA 18407

Boy Scout Camp: we attended this camp for two weeks for a couple summers

[Camp Hall
Fiddle Lake
c/o William Tinklepaugh
Thompson, PA.

1959

12/12/1943 — 8/1961

a wooden sign
with the
name
on it
used to
hang
on the
cow
barn
(now
torn
down).

Home

Riverside Farm

R. D. 1

Carbondale, PA

Boy Scout camp:

Camp Hall

Fiddle Lake

c/o William Tinklepaugh

Thompson, PA.

1960

12/12/1943 — 8/1961

Home [Riverside Farm
R D. 1
Carbondale, PA

Boy Scout Camp:

[Camp Hall — Norton Vail
Fiddle Lake was the
scoutmaster
of Troop 2,
Carbondale.
c/o William Tinklebaugh
Thompson, PA

1961

12/12/1943 — 8/1961

[Riverside Farm
R.D. 1
Carbondale, PA

9/1961 — 12/1961

horrible
accommodations
to be sure

SRP was a
student at
Penn State
1961-1965

[Nittany Hall 29, Room 21
Box 1218
Penn State University
University Park, PA

In December 1961, when DWP
and I came home from PSU
for term break, we moved
from Riverside Farm to the
Russell Homestead.

1962

1381

1/1962 — [Nittany Hall 29, Room 21
Box 1218
Penn State University
University Park, PA

by 2/10/1962 — 6/1962

[304 Holmes Hall
Box 281
Penn State University
University Park, PA

6/1962 — 12/1962

SRP was
home for
the Fall
quarter 1962;

[R.O.I., Russell Homestead
Carbondale, PA
took political science 10
by correspondence

1963

1/1963 — 6/1963

[604 Pollock Hall A
Penn State University
University Park, PA

1/18/1963 — invited to join AXA
2/18/1963 — received pledge pin

Summer 1963 —

[Russell Homestead
R.D. 1
Carbondale, PA

9/1963 — 12/1963 — AD7-2602

[Lambda Chi Alpha
351 East Fairmount Avenue
State College, PA

(ultimately became President
of Lambda Chi Alpha)

1964

1383

1/1964 — 12/1964

[Lambda Chi Alpha
351 East Fairmount Avenue
State College, PA

Phone: AD7-2602

Summer School, 1964, PSU

(College and summer are
wonderful in the summer
and I attended summer
sessions whenever possible)

1965 - Fall 1965 - Summer 1967
student at GWU

1384

1/14/1965 - 3/1965 - student Teaching
(10 weeks)

[Wessahickon High School
Ambler, PA]

Residence: [Maple East Apts, A-6
213 Maple Avenue, Rt. 611
Horsham, PA.]

3/1965 - 6/1965 -

[Lambda Chi Alpha
351 East Fannount Avenue
State College, PA]

6/12/1965 - awarded Bachelor of
Arts, PSU

6/12/1965 - 12/31/1965 -

[6/1965 -
8/1967] → [The Channel House, apt. 505
824 New Hampshire Ave, NW
Washington, DC 20037
Phone: 333-0326]

1966

1/1966 — 12/1966 —

[The Channel House, apt. 505
824 New Hampshire Ave, NW
Washington, DC 20037]

7/23/66 — 8/30/1966 — first trip
[Dulles airport to only airport] to Europe

Before my departure for Europe,
I worked for two or three
months in the library of
the Department of Agriculture,
Washington, DC.

1967

1/1/1967 - 8/30/1967

[The Channel House, apt. 505
Washington, DC9/30/1967 - Master of Arts
George Washington Univ.8/30/1967 - Earl Noelte & I moved
out of The Channel
House. Earl then
lived at:I stored my
things and
lived with Earl
during summer
1967[1010 25th Street
Washington, DC 20037[2716 "O" Street, NW.
Washington, DC.

Fall 1967 - 12/31/1967

SRP had a room
in a rooming
house ✓SRP began as
a Ph.D. student
at Indiana
University[515 East First Street
Bloomington, IN 47401

1968

1/1968 — [515 East First Street
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

2/1/68 — Summer 1968

[510 East Cottage Grove, #2F
Bloomington, IN 47401

Shared this apt. with a fellow
graduate student, Michael
Harris.

8/1968 — 11/1968

[218 South Roosevelt
Bloomington, IN 47401

Shared this house with Michael
Harris

11/1968 — 12/1968 —

[430 S. Dunn, #324
Bloomington, IN 47401

Phone 332-4559

Shared apt. with C. Joel Block

1969

1/1969—12/1969

[430 South Dunn, #324
Bloomington, IN 47401

Studied for Ph. D. exam all
summer.

I was a teaching associate in
French at Indiana University
from the Fall 1967 to the
end of the summer session
1970, when I went to Europe
for a month before starting
my teaching at SUNY:
College at Oswego.

1970

1/1970 — 7/1970 —

[430 S. Duman, #324
Bloomington, IN 47401]

Joel moved back to Washington
and I got a room at:

[501 S. Highland, apt 11
Bloomington, IN 47401]

8/10/1970 — 9/10/1970 — second trip
to Europe

9/1970 — SRP accepts position as
Assistant Professor of
French at SUNY: Oswego

taught
three
academic
year

1971-1972

[44 West 5th Street
Oswego, NY 13126]

phone: 315-342-1550

1971

1/1971 — 6/1971 — [44 West 5th Street
Oswego, NY 13126

6/1971 — 8/1971 — [c/o Mrs. C. Kijip
P.O. Box 236
18 Albany Post
Road South
Hyde Park, NY
12538

SRP & Earl Noelte
did research for
their doctoral
dissertations

8/1971 — [336 Riverside Drive, #1B
to 12/1971 NYC, NY 10025

Shared apt. with C. Joel Block;
building burned during
Christmas season when
SRP was out of town.

— worked as Publications assistant at
UNICEF, United Nations, NYC

1972

1/1972 - 12/1972 -

[321 West 103rd St, #2B
NYC, NY 10025

phone 865-7498

June-July - August 1972: took over
Sheryl Gross's job as Rights,
Permissions and Reviews
Editor at AMA COM, NYC.

Fall 1972 - taught at Yeshiva
H.S. of Far Rockaway, NY;
also in Spring 1973; at
the same time I also
taught courses at
Brooklyn College: Spring 1973,
Fall 1973, Spring 1974

1973

1392

1/1973 - 6/1973 - [321 West 103rd St,
NYC, NY 10025 #2B

4/6/1973 - 4/23/1973 - third trip
visited DWP in London to Europe; for
(4/15 - 4/23) Earl Noelle's
wedding.
4-13-73

Summer 1973 -

SRP stayed in C. Joel Block's
apt. near Columbia University
when Joel & Jenny were in
Europe

8/1/1973 - 8/31/1975 -

SRP's apartment at:

[249 West 76th St, #4A
NYC, NY 10023

212-724-7090

1974

1/1974 - 12/1974 -

[249 West 76th St, #4A
NYC, NY 10023

8/31/1974 - SRP awarded Ph.D. in French
Literature from Indiana
University, Bloomington, CN #7401

(was able to collect unemployment insurance from the
Brooklyn College position, 1973-
1974)

1973-1975 - Editor, Multimedia
American Management
Associations, NYC

S. ROBERT POWELL

March 31, 1999

INDIVIDUAL RETIREMENT ACCOUNTS

Green Point Savings Bank (formerly Bowery Savings Bank): Retirement Services, P. O. Box 5470, New Hyde Park, NY 11040-5470, 1-800-55-PENSION.

IRA account # 01-47954802, total value as of 12-31-1996, \$21,653.74; as of 12/31/97, \$22,842.16 (+\$1,188.42 for 1997); as of 06-30-98, \$23,430.58; as of 12-31-98, \$24,038.47

- 1985, 1990, 1993 IRAs: #6517532567; expires 01-26-1999;
balance as of 01-26-99, \$10,729.97
Into DWR IRA (shows up in asset summary on 2/28/99 DWR statement)
- 1986, 1994 IRAs: #6517532575, expires 02-03-2003,
as of 12-31-98, \$6,828.09 @ 5.59/5.75%.
- 1987, 1992 IRAs: #6517532583, expires 02-24-1999,
balance as of 02-24-99, \$6,563.42
Into DWR IRA

Dean Witter Reynolds, IRA account #620--031766, total value as of 12-31-1996, \$10,580.42; as of 12-31-97, \$12,456.83; as of 12-31-98, as of 02-28-1999, \$25,775.21; \$30 maintenance fee paid, check 2327, 04-20-98

- 1988 IRA, European Growth Fund, as of 02-28-99, 359.117 shares at \$19.32 = \$6,938.14
- 1989 IRA, Capital Growth B Fund, as of 02-28-99, 364.183 shares at \$15.02 = \$5,470.02
- 1995 IRA, Japan Fund, as of 02-28-99, 104.945 shares at \$6.78 = \$711.52; American Value Fund, 56.925 shares at \$33.70 = \$1,918.37
- IRA money market funds, \$0.16 as of 12-31-98; \$10,737.16 as of 02-28-1999

PNC Bank, IRA account #55001928359

1991 IRA, renewed 03-13-97 for 60 months at 5.37% interest (APY 5.50%), expires 03-13-02, \$3,021.74 as of 02-10-99

Pioneer American Bank, IRA account #58559

1997 IRA, \$2,000, opened 03-25-98 for 3 years at 6.0% interest (APY 6.09%), expires 03-25-2001; DWP II primary beneficiary (SS# 163-68-1346); as of 03-25-99, \$2,121.80

ICS 401K RETIREMENT PLAN

ICS is a part of National Education Corporation, which is part of Harcourt General, Inc. On 09-06-1996, SRP arranged to have 15% of his pre-tax salary deposited in the National Education Corporation's Retirement Savings Plan. Harcourt matches the first 2% of SRP's salary that he contributes, dollar-for-dollar; from 3 to 6%, 25 cents on the dollar.

Main Fidelity number: 800-835-5095. 40% in Fidelity Contrafund; 20% in Fidelity Growth Company; 40% in Templeton Foreign.

Harcourt General, Inc. Employee Savings Plan PIN: 5515-86: ICS gross pay for 1997, \$25,555.98; for 1998, \$24,503.07 (lower than 97 because of the unpaid days off that I took in 98).

Deducted amount from each check (\$152.49); total for 1996, \$1,394.43); 1997 deductions: from SRP as of 12-31-97, \$4,046.60. Total account value as of 12-31-97: \$7,217.85; SRP contribution, as of 12-31-98: \$3,681.11. 1999 contribution as of 03-26-99, \$881.04. Total account value as of 03-11-99, \$14,306.62.

CERTIFICATES OF DEPOSIT

CD at National Bank of Olyphant, 1300 Wyoming Avenue, Scranton, PA 18509. 717-961-2402. Account number 29810-10364, opened March

13, 1998; \$10,000 at 5.70 % with APY of 5.82%, due March 13, 2003; as of 12-23-98, \$10,435.63.

CD at National Bank of Olyphant, 1300 Wyoming Avenue, Scranton, PA 18509. 717-961-2402. Account number 29810-10485; opened July 13, 1998, \$25,000 at 5.73% with APY of 5.85%, due 07-13-2003; as of 12-31-98, \$25,361.07.

CD at National Bank of Olyphant, 1300 Wyoming Avenue, Scranton, PA 18509. 717-961-2402. Account number 29810-10552; opened September 11, 1998, \$30,000 at 5.73% with APY of 5.85%, due 09-11-2003; as of 12-31-98, \$30,428.57.

MUTUAL FUNDS

Dean Witter Reynolds, 415 Spruce Street, Scranton; account executive, Thomas F. Conigliaro (961-7700); all certificates held by DWR; purchase papers in Safe Deposit Box 101 in Community Bank and Trust Company, Forest City.

On 06-30-1986, SRP purchased \$15,000 worth of mutual funds, including 263 shares of Dividend Growth at \$18.98 (15.4 billion in assets in this fund in January 98; 10-year return, 348.1%, 5-year return, 123.5, 25.7 return for 1997)

164 shares of High Yield at \$15.16

484.48 shares of Natural Resources at \$10.19

154 Shares of World Wide Investment Trust, Class B at \$16.13; this fund was acquired on 06-05-98 by DWP Global Dividend Growth Securities, Class B on 06-05-98; SRP now owns 460.770 shares of Global Dividend Growth Securities.

On 03-12-1999, 116.394 shares, @ \$12.40 per share, of Capital Appreciation Fund, Class B acquired by American Value Fund, Class B (see below).

Value as of 12-31-96, \$41,155.99; as of 12-31-1997, \$48,226.88; as of 06-30-98, \$51,892.03; as of 09-30-98, \$45,722.59; as of 12-31-98, \$49,920.86.

DG-B, 428.466 shares @ \$61.36 = \$26,290.67

NR-B, 1,013.723 shares @ \$10.66 = \$10,806.28
 American Value Fund, 40.829 shares @ \$35.35 = \$1,443.29
 Global DG-B, 476.15 shares @ \$13.20 = \$6,285.27
 HY-D, 875.923 shares @ \$5.87 = \$5,141.66
 Liq. As., 40.23 shares @ \$1.00 = \$40.23

STOCKS

WAL-MART

SRP owns, as of 03-30-99, 162.073 shares of Wal-Mart stock @ \$95.00 per share = \$15,396.93; stock certificates held by First Chicago Trust, Post Office Box 3596, Church Street Station, NY, NY 10008-3596; stock information, 800-438-6278. (This stock split just before I started working at Wal-Mart and started to buy Wal-Mart stock. On 02-25-93, it split when it was selling at \$64.909. On 04-19-99, this stock will split again. In March 1994, I bought 79.217 shares at \$25; on April 4, 1994, I bought 70.326 shares at \$25.59; on 07-22-1994, I had 160.5 shares, valued at \$4112)

HARCOURT GENERAL, INC.

As a benefit from the company, at no cost to the employee, SRP acquired 2.6035 shares of Harcourt General, Inc. common stock in the period 11-01-97—10-31-98; valued at \$46.2415 per share on 10-31-98, or \$120.39.

BONDS

SRP owns Series EE Savings Bonds. Original maturity for Series EE bonds is 17 years from issue date, final maturity is 30 after issue date. Donald W. Powell II (SS# 163-68-1346) is the named beneficiary and will become the sole owner of all these bonds at the death of SRP. These bonds are all in SRP's safe deposit box in Forest City.

<u>Bond Number</u>	<u>Issue Date</u>	<u>Value at Original Maturity</u>
C523056394EE	06-25-95	\$100 bond
C529904486EE	07-07-95	\$100 bond
C530513117EE	07-20-95	\$100 bond
C532170208EE	08-03-95	\$100 bond

C535312197EE	08-23-95	\$100 bond
C535613455EE	08-31-95	\$100 bond
M66127582EE	08-21-95	\$1,000 bond
M63163482EE	09-29-95	\$1,000 bond
C540729860EE	10-18-95	\$100 bond
C540729859EE	10-18-95	\$100 bond
C540729858EE	10-18-95	\$100 bond
C540729857EE	10-18-95	\$100 bond
M63946354EE	10-18-95	\$1,000 bond

CHECKING ACCOUNT

PNC Bank, account #920-111-717-7, \$6,000 (more or less)

INSURANCE

LIFE INSURANCE

Whole-life policy, face amount \$10,000. Policy number 73283, issued 05-10-1974; policy class, standard; premium period, 35 years. DWP I (SS# 198-34-0580) named sole and primary beneficiary on 09-12-1985. This savings bank life insurance policy was taken out when SRP had an account with the Bowery Savings Bank, 42nd Street and Lexington Avenue, NYC, NY. (The Bowery was later called "Home Savings Bank of America" and then "Greenpoint Bank"). The bank's address for life insurance purposes is: Greenpoint Bank, Life Insurance Department, 466 Central Avenue, Cedarhurst, NY 11516; also: 466 Central Avenue, Cedarhurst, NY 11516. The annual premium on this policy is \$168.80, payable on May 10th. The policy is in Safe Deposit Box 101, Community Bank and Trust Company, Forest City, PA. Paid \$168.80 (SRP check #2325) on 04-17-1998; interest income for 1997, \$85.91. As of 4-17-98: current dividend, \$139.40; interest on accumulations, \$92.46; total accumulations, \$3,313.89. To get the cash value of the policy, phone 212-268-4217. Cash value as of 03-17-98, \$7,408.00.

LIFE AND HEALTH INSURANCE

North American Company for Life and Health Insurance of New York, Post Office Box 73616, Rochester, NY 14673-3616. Policy #16-S87242, taken out on 11-14-1956, when SRP was 12. Annual premium \$7.50. The policy series is 0501. Service Office. North American Company for Life and Health Insurance, 6 International Drive, Rye Brook, NY 10573. Phone: 800-775-2254 Mailing address: North American Company for Life and Health Insurance, Church Street Station, Post Office Box 6834, NYC, NY 10249-6834. Policy in Safe Deposit Box 101, Community Bank and Trust Company, Forest City, PA. Paid \$7.50 (SRP check #2381) on 11-02-1998 for 12 months insurance.

AD&D INSURANCE (accidental death and dismemberment insurance)

Five separate policies, total value: \$115,500.00

(A) All American Insurance Company, policy 920-111-717-7, certificate G-906-6000221; policy in Forest City safe deposit box; \$50,000 of insurance, \$5 monthly premium deducted from SRP's PNC checking account #920-111-717-7; policy taken out 04-01-1988.

(B) Continental Casualty Company (CNA), policy 18-113-952, certificate 920-1DDZDZZ; policy in Forest City safe deposit box; \$21,000 of insurance, \$6.60 per quarter deducted from SRP's PNC account #920-111-717-7; policy taken out 10-10-1990. PNC pays for the first \$1,000 and SRP pays the \$6.60 quarterly for the additional \$20,000. CNA Plan Administrator: 800-252-2148 weekdays and ask for the "Insurance Desk."

(C) Continental Casualty, policy 18-113-952, certificate 412-8002091MSZAMZ, policy in safe deposit box in Forest City; \$21,000 of insurance, \$6.60 per quarter charged to SRP's Citibank Visa account. Visa pays for the first \$1,000 and SRP pays the \$6.60 quarterly for the additional \$20,000; policy taken out on 02-01-1994.

(D) Continental Casualty, policy 18-113-952, certificate 412-800-2091MSZAMZ, policy in safe deposit box in Forest City, \$1,000 of AD&D insurance paid for by Citibank Visa; policy taken out on 09-01-1996.

(E) ICS Learning Systems provides an AD&D policy on SRP that is one times his current salary (\$22,500+ as of 03/1996).

AUTO INSURANCE

Colonial Penn Franklin Insurance Agency, Post Office Box 1995, Valley Forge, PA 19482-1995. Company Code No. 20796. Policy number: 558372851. Effective 12/12/98, expiration 12/12/99. Chevrolet S-10 Truck. VIN: 1GCCS14R7P8117575. Paid \$534.30 on 12-01-98, check #2396, for period 12-12-98--12-12-99. (\$11.90 refunded as overpayment on 12/11/98)

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

Drawn up by SRP in 1987 through Attorney Larry Moran, Scranton, PA, who has a copy in his files. DWP I also has a copy and there is a copy at my desk and one in Safe Deposit Box 101 in Community Bank and Trust Company in Forest City, PA. Attorney Moran's phone number is 717-348-0200.

SAFE DEPOSIT BOXES

Box 1036, Pioneer American Bank, Carbondale, PA. Box shared with HLRP and DWP I; box opened on 12-05-1986 at \$100 per year.

Box 101, Community Bank and Trust Company, Forest City, PA. DWP was authorized to enter this box on 06-21-1990. This box is under the name of "Elkdale Cemetery Association, S. Robert Powell." The original Elkdale Cemetery book is stored in this box as are many personal papers that belong to SRP. The box was opened on 02-16-1990 and is paid for on a yearly basis (\$50) by the Elkdale Cemetery Association.

End of:

**Personal Papers, 1943-1970, of S. Robert Powell,
Carbondale (Lackawanna County), PA**

with reference to (1) man and nature, (2) time, and (3) space. That those tendencies are inherent in the conceptual form of Madame Bovary can be demonstrated by examining the form and content of the descriptions of landscape in that novel, as well as the form and content of the novel itself seen as an autonomous aesthetic phenomenon. In any study of the arts, as Sir Kenneth Clark has suggested,⁸ landscape description can be a valuable index of the spatial and temporal structure of contemporary consciousness and of the prevailing attitude toward man, nature, and experience in the world. In an examination of the arts produced in the nineteenth century the study of landscape description is particularly important for, as Clark demonstrates in Landscape Into Art, it is only in the nineteenth century that landscape developed a new aesthetic of its own and is considered a valid expression of the whole of life. Not only does landscape painting become an aesthetically independent mode of artistic expression in the nineteenth century, it is, as Clark illustrates, the chief artistic creation of the nineteenth century. Clark succinctly describes the history of landscape painting in the West as follows: "In Western art landscape painting has had a short and fitful history. In the greatest ages of European art, the age of the Parthenon and that of the Chartres cathedral, landscape did not and could not exist; to Giotto and Michelangelo it was an impertinence. It is only in

the seventeenth century that great artists take up landscape painting for its own sake and try to systematize the rules. Only in the nineteenth century does it become the dominant art form and create a new aesthetic of its own."⁹ In examining the form and content of the descriptions of landscape in Madame Bovary and of the form and content of that novel, the following questions will be answered: (1) To what extent does Flaubert utilize the static Renaissance scaffolding of space as a formal stylistic structure?; (2) What attempts are made by Flaubert to adapt the Renaissance conception of space and art to his particular aesthetic needs?; (3) To what extent does Flaubert utilize landscape description within the genre of the novel?; and (4) What is the specific nature of the landscapes described by Flaubert within the spatial system or organization in question?

That Flaubert accepts the fundamental spatial and aesthetic principles of composition formulated during the Renaissance and regards them as a valid basis for the creation of art is manifest, first of all, in the forms of the descriptions of landscape in Madame Bovary. With reference to structure, those landscapes can be divided into two types: (1) independent landscapes and (2) sequential landscapes. An independent landscape is one which is described by a stationary spectator and which, in accordance with the customary Renaissance practice, is divided into foreground, middle ground, and background. Landscapes of this type are

frequent in the French novel from the late eighteenth century up to the time of Flaubert.¹⁰ Their structural form clearly reveals an acceptance of the inherited spatial and aesthetic legacy of the Renaissance. Consider, for example, the description of what Charles Bovary sees from the window of his room in Rouen on warm evenings when the streets are empty ("Dans les beaux soirs d'été... qui ne venaient pas jusqu'à lui."). In that description the system of space represented is closed, geometric, and unified by the laws of single viewpoint linear perspective. The three-dimensionality of the scene is underlined by the expressions: "en bas," "sous lui," "au bord (de la rivière)," "sur des perches partant du haut des greniers," "en face," "au-delà des toits," and "là-bas." Similarly, the description of the Vaubyessard chateau is an independent landscape ("Le château, de construction moderne... de l'ancien château démoli."). In that description, which, like the preceding example, is divided into three separate grounds, the following expressions are utilized by Flaubert to establish spatial three-dimensionality: "au bas de," "entre des bouquets," "sur la ligne courbe du chemin," "sous un pont," "à travers la brume," "en pente douce," "par derrière," and "sur deux lignes parallèles."

A sequential landscape is one which is described by a mobile spectator and which is divided not into separate grounds but rather into tableaux. Unlike the form of the independent landscape, which is inherited by Flaubert from the practice of Chateaubriand,

Balzac, and Stendhal, among others, that of the sequential landscape is one that is discovered by Flaubert. That structural form is inherent in the description of the arrival of Charles and Emma in Yonville-l'Abbaye at the beginning of Part II. The five landscape tableaux into which this description is divided are as follows: (1) Yonville seen in relationship to the city of Rouen--Yonville is eight leagues from Rouen and is located in a valley; (2) Yonville seen from the summit of the Leux hill--Yonville is in a valley between the road leading to Abbeville and the one leading to Beauvais; the Rieule river divides the valley in two. To the East are grain fields and to the West are the farms; the forest of Argueil is straight ahead. The principal road leading into Yonville is the one which joins the Abbeville road with that of Amiens; (3) Yonville seen from the bottom of the hill, after the bridge--the houses of Yonville which are located on the road between the bridge and the square; (4) Yonville seen from the entrance to the square--the village church, the cemetery; (5) Yonville seen from the square--the market buildings, the mayor's office, the Lion d'Or, the pharmacy of M. Homais. The objects represented in each of these tableaux, it must be understood, are described from a single point of view by a stationary spectator and are spatially interrelated within a closed and independent system of space. In the description of what Charles and Emma see from the top of the Leux hill, for

example, the following expressions, among others, are indicative of Flaubert's acceptance of the three-dimensional Renaissance type pattern: "à gauche," "à droite," "sous," "par derrière," "du côté de l'est," "à perte de vue," "au bord de l'herbe," "au bout de l'horizon," "devant soi," and "du haut en bas." That same tableau is, however, one component of a spatially and temporally interrelated sequence of landscape tableaux which together represent a comprehensive description of what Charles and Emma see at five different times in their linear movement along the road leading into Yonville-l'Abbaye. In this description of Yonville-l'Abbaye, a "paysage en mouvement," as in many others in Madame Bovary, Flaubert, by means of a mobile spectator who moves not only through space but also through time, enriches the spatial and aesthetic legacy of the Renaissance by setting that space picture in motion. In so doing, Flaubert, like Stendhal in certain descriptions of landscape in La Chartreuse de Parme (what Fabrice sees from the windows of the governor's palace; what Fabrice sees from the church tower on the feast day of Saint Giovita; and what Fabrice sees from the windows of the Farnese prison), experiments, whether consciously or unconsciously, with fixed viewpoint linear perspective within the Renaissance space picture. In Stendhal it is the visual field of the stationary spectator which is set in motion by means of panoramic and telescopic vision. In this description of Yonville-l'Abbaye it is the spectator himself who moves. This descriptive technique

is, as we will demonstrate later in this essay, the foundation of the formal structure of Madame Bovary seen as an autonomous aesthetic phenomenon. Before examining that structure, however, we must first examine the content of the landscape descriptions in Madame Bovary and of the novel itself. In so doing we will ascertain how Flaubert regards man, nature, and the transactions between man and the natural world.

With reference to content the landscapes in Madame Bovary can be divided into two groups: (1) naturalistic landscapes which coincide with Emma's personal needs, desires, and aspirations; and (2) naturalistic landscapes which do not coincide with Emma's psychic needs. That the landscapes in Madame Bovary are naturalistic in quality--more naturalistic than they had ever before been in the novel--is explained, in a large part, by Flaubert's choice of subject for the novel and by the method of observation and description utilized in the presentation of that content.

The circumstances surrounding Flaubert's choice of the story of Eugène Delamare as the primary material of Madame Bovary are briefly these. Having been severely criticized by his friends Louis Bouilhet and Maxime du Camp for the effusive lyricism of the first draft of La Tentation de Saint Antoine, Flaubert, as du Camp reports in his Souvenirs Littéraires, accepted the suggestion made by Bouilhet that he write the story of Delamare--a country doctor from the town of Ry, near Rouen, whose wife Delphine, after love

affairs with a gentleman farmer and a law clerk, had taken poison. In order to present that story Flaubert, first of all, had to carefully establish the milieu in which it would take place. That milieu, unlike the milieux of Atala, René, La Chartreuse de Parme, and La Tentation de Saint Antoine, for example, is neither exotic nor poeticized. Rather, it is the prosaic reality of contemporary provincial France, chosen not because of its associative value but for its intrinsic value. That Flaubert is successful in representing that particular milieu in the genre of the novel has been demonstrated by Jean Canu in great detail. Canu examines the milieux of Madame Bovary with the specific objective of determining how accurately Flaubert represents nineteenth-century Normandy in that novel. Descriptions such as that in which Homais describes the climate of Yonville-l'Abbaye for Charles Bovary ("Le climat... comme des brises de Russie!" p. 117), and that of the houses along the principal street of Yonville-l'Abbaye ("Au bas de la côte... la plus belle du pays." pp. 106-07) are representative of the kind examined by Canu. Having compared descriptions of empirical reality such as those two with numerous geographical, sociological, and anthropological studies, most notably that of Jules Sion entitled Les Paysages de la Normandie Orientale, Canu has determined that--the following is only a partial listing--the meteorological conditions, the geographical names, the geological formations,

the animals, the agricultural products, Emma's wedding, the Comices Agricoles, the city of Rouen, the Rouen cathedral, the vocabulary, the customs and mores, the village of Tostes, as they appear in Madame Bovary, are all accurate representations of nineteenth-century Normandy. Canu concludes his study with the following statement: "Nous avons vu que dans l'ensemble, les renseignements des géographes et des érudits ne contredisent pas les descriptions du romancier. Derrière chaque indication de celui-ci, il est généralement possible de mettre un fait dument constaté, une observation scientifique."¹¹ To modify in any way any aspect of that landscape means, in fact, to change the life of Emma Bovary. Brunetière remarks in Le Roman Naturaliste: "Il se trouve que ce milieu était le vrai milieu, disons le seul, où put vivre et se façonner, et se laisser pétrir aux circonstances, une femme telle que Emma Bovary. Essayez, en effet, de la changer de son milieu; modifiez un seul des éléments qui forment son atmosphère physique et morale; supprimez un seul des menus faits dont elle subit la réaction, sans le savoir elle-même; transformez un seul des personnages dont l'influence inaperçue domine ses réactions, vous avez changé tout le roman."¹² Emma Bovary is thus part of the landscape. She is inseparable from the non-idealized bourgeois reality of nineteenth-century provincial France. She is, as Canu remarks, "une paysanne cauchoise"; "Enveloppé d'un paysage bien déterminé et de coutumes précises,

Emma n'est pas un ange en dépit des fadeurs romantiques de Léon, ni une créature satanique, comme elle serait parfois tenté de croire, mais une paysanne cauchoise qui s'est transformée en bourgeoise trop vite."¹² That being the case, Madame Bovary is, therefore, a place novel. That is to say, a novel in which (1) the fictional characters are inseparable from the fictional reality which they inhabit, and (2) that fictional reality is, in turn, inseparable from its historical and empirical prototype, which has been both observed and described as an end in itself by an impartial observer. Atala and René, for example, are not place novels. The fictional characters in those novels are, it cannot be denied, inseparable from the fictional realities which they inhabit. Yet, those largely non-naturalistic and fictionalized realities are not inseparable from an explicit historical prototype because of Chateaubriand's non-objective stance with reference to the content of those novels. Similarly, Illusions Perdues and La Chartreuse de Parme are not place novels. Lucien de Rubempré and Fabrice del Dongo are, in fact, inseparable from the fictional realities in which they are placed. Those fictional realities, however, are not in entirety inseparable from any specific configuration in empirical reality because of the fact that Balzac and Stendhal do not view empirical reality as an end in itself. In Madame Bovary, on the other hand, Emma Bovary is completely inseparable from the fictional reality in which her life is enmeshed.

That fictional reality is, in turn, because of the objectivity inherent in the method of direct observation and description utilized by Flaubert, completely inseparable from a particular spatial configuration in empirical reality. The world of empirical reality in Madame Bovary is neither a vehicle for the expression of a particular religious ideology (e.g., Atala and René), nor is it explicitly a social, economic, or political structure (e.g., Illusions Perdues and La Chartreuse de Parme). Rather, it is, as Flaubert discovered, an end in itself, a valid expression of the whole of life. Madame Bovary is the simultaneous study of three things: (1) a group of fictional characters, (2) a place, (3) the relationship between those characters and that place. Madame Bovary, therefore, represents a complete expression of the naturalistic tendency in art, an artistic style which strives to represent the world of empirical reality, of which man is considered to be an integral part, in its three-dimensional corporeality dependent upon space. That tendency, as Worringer has explained, characterizes the fine arts in only two periods of history--the classical age of Greek sculpture and the art of Western Europe from the Italian Renaissance to the end of the nineteenth century.¹³

The naturalistic landscapes in Madame Bovary--the primary content of the novel--can, as we suggested above, be divided into two categories. We will first examine those which coincide with Emma's personal needs, desires, and aspirations. Emma's tastes in

landscape are, quite naturally, conditioned by her childhood and education. Given her rural environment as a child she grows up in the midst of the "envahissements lyriques de la nature, qui, d'ordinaire, ne nous arrivent que par la traduction des écrivains." As such, it is not surprising that she rejects the Norman countryside as prosaic, devoid of all emotion, and impersonal: "Il fallait qu'elle pût retirer des choses une sorte de profit personnel; et elle rejetait comme inutiles tout ce qui ne contribuait pas à la consommation immédiate de son coeur--étant de tempérament plus sentimentale qu'artiste, cherchant des émotions et non des paysages." She prefers, instead, idealized landscapes of love like those in the historical novels that the old lady who comes to the convent every month to work in the laundry brings with her and which she secretly lends to the older girls. Flaubert describes the content of those novels as follows: "Ce n'étaient qu'amours, amantes, dames persécutées s'évanouissant dans des pavillons solitaires, postillons qu'on tue à tous les relais, chevaux qu'on crève à toutes les pages, forêts sombres, troubles du coeur, serments, sanglots, larmes et baisers, nacelles au clair de lune, rossignols dans les bosquets, messieurs braves comme des lions, doux comme des agneaux, vertueux comme on ne l'est pas, toujours bien mis, et qui pleurent comme des urnes." The landscapes in those historical novels as well as those represented in the autograph albums that some of Emma's friends at the convent received as presents and which all the girls secretly read in the dormitory are summarily described

by Flaubert as "paysages blafards des contrées dithyrambiques." Given Emma's disgust for the ordinary world of empirical reality and her concomitant admiration for the idealized and romantic environments and landscapes of her convent readings. It follows that, having left the convent, she seeks within the context of empirical reality the equivalent of the fictional landscapes of her readings. Like René, she seeks, above all, a landscape which incarnates happiness: "Il lui semblait que certains lieux sur la terre devaient produire du bonheur, comme une plante particulière au sol qui pousse mal tout autre part... Ne fallait-il pas à l'amour, comme aux plantes indiennes, de terrains préparés, une température particulière?" Not having found the idealized landscapes she dreams of in Tostes subsequent to her marriage to Charles Bovary, Emma longs for the faraway places of her romantic and historical readings. For Emma there is a direct relationship not only between romantic and exotic environments and happiness, but also between distant landscapes and happiness: "Plus les choses, d'ailleurs, étaient voisines, plus sa pensée s'en détournait. Tout ce qui l'entourait immédiatement, campagne ennuyeuse, petits bourgeois imbéciles, médiocrité de l'existence, lui semblait une exception dans le monde, un hasard particulier où elle se trouvait prise, tandis qu'au delà s'étendait à perte de vue l'immense pays des félicités et des passions." (pp. 91-92) The spatial focal point of Emma's desires, the landscapes which, in her opinion, will doubtless incarnate her psychic needs, is Paris. "Paris, plus

vaste que l'océan, miroitait donc aux yeux d'Emma, dans une atmosphère vermeille... C'était une existence au-dessus des autres, entre ciel et terre, dans les orages, quelque chose de sublime. Quant au reste du monde, il était perdu, sans place précise et comme n'existant pas." The moments in Emma's life, however, when she finds within empirical reality landscapes which coincide with her psychic needs are not numerous. Only on four occasions does Emma see herself as belonging to an idealized landscape, a fictional reality: (1) at the ball at Vaubyessard; (2) when Emma and Rodolphe ride on horseback in the country six weeks after the Comices Agricoles--"Elle entraînait dans quelque chose de merveilleux où tout serait passion, extase, délire; une immensité bleuâtre l'entourait... l'existence ordinaire n'apparaissait qu'au loin... Alors elle se rappela les héroïnes des livres qu'elle avait lus, et la légion lyrique de ces femmes adultères se mit à chanter dans sa mémoire avec des voix de soeurs qui la charmaient. Elle devenait elle-même comme une partie véritable de ces imaginations et réalisait la longue rêverie de sa jeunesse, en se considérant dans ce type d'amoureuse qu'elle avait tant envié."; (3) in the opera house in Rouen when Emma and Charles attend a performance of Lucia di Lammermoor--"Elle se retrouvait dans les lectures de sa jeunesse, en plein Walter Scott."; (4) when Emma goes to Rouen to see Léon. Not only is the city of Rouen transformed into a landscape of love and enchantement by Emma's psychic state, it becomes, as well, a fictional reality, a painting, an ancient Babylon--"Son amour

s'agrandissait devant l'espace, et s'emplissait de tumulte aux bourdonnements vagues qui montaient. Elle le reversait au dehors, sur les places, sur les promenades, sur les rues, et la vieille cité normande s'étalait à ses yeux comme une capitale démesurée, comme une Babylone où elle entrait." Having found, then, a landscape of love comparable to those in her historical and romantic readings, Emma becomes, not only in her own eyes but also for Léon, a fictional heroine--"Elle était l'amoureuse de tous les romans, l'héroïne de tous les drames, le vague elle de tous les volumes de vers. Il retrouvait sur ses épaules la couleur ambrée de l'odalisque au bain..." With the exception of the four landscapes discussed above, however, Emma is at all times surrounded by a series of naturalistic landscapes which do not coincide with her psychic needs and with which she is in a state of disharmony. Examples of this second kind of naturalistic landscape in Madame Bovary need not be given. What must not be forgotten, however, is that this kind of landscape is the primary content of the novel. The futility of Emma's repeated attempts to flee from that sequence of landscapes into an absolute is underlined, as we will now demonstrate, by the structural form of the novel itself, seen as an autonomous aesthetic phenomenon. That structural form, like the form of the landscapes of which the novel is composed, implicitly underlines the thesis that Flaubert accepts as a valid basis for the creation of art the fundamental spatial and aesthetic principles established at the time of the Renaissance.

1346-1349: Reading list
for Master of arts degree
from Indiana University.

All new Ph.D. candidates at
IU. had to take the IU.
M.A. exam. I did, and
because we had to go through
the process of studying for
and taking the exam, several
of my colleagues and I
insisted that IU. grant
us masters degrees. Hence
I have two M.A.s.

EXAMEN POUR LE TITRE DE MASTER OF ARTS

Option littéraire et option littérature-linguistique

Les candidats à l'option littéraire auront à analyser un texte et à répondre en français à des questions de poétique, de rhétorique, et de stylistique portant sur ce texte

et à rédiger trois compositions, dont une en français, portant sur des sujets choisis dans trois périodes différentes. Deux sujets au choix seront donnés dans chacune des six périodes.

Durée: 4 heures

Les candidats à l'option littérature-linguistique auront

à répondre à des questions de linguistique

et à rédiger deux compositions, dont une en français, portant sur des sujets choisis dans deux périodes différentes. Les sujets proposés, ainsi que le texte à analyser, seront les mêmes que pour les candidats à l'autre option.

Durée: 4 heures

Ouvrages pouvant aider à préparer la partie rhétorique, poétique et stylistique de l'examen:

- Morier, Dictionnaire de rhétorique et de poétique
Elwert, W. T., Traité de versification française (trad. fr. 1965)
Suberville, J., Historie et théorie de la versification française.
Le Hir, Y., Rhétorique et stylistique
France, Peter, Racine's Rhetoric
Hubert, Judd, L'Esthétique des Fleurs du mal
Dufau, M. and D'Allelio, E., Découverte du poème
Sareil, J., Explication de texte

Effective Date: Sept., 1969

PROGRAMME POUR LE TITRE DE MASTER OF ARTS.

Le Moyen-Age:

Oeuvres

Vie de Saint Alexis

Chanson de Roland

Lyric poetry in the Cluzel-Pressouyre anthology

Jeu D'Adam

Marie de France LAIS (Equitan, LeFresne, Les deus amanz, Laüstic, Chevrefoil, Eliduc)

Chrestien de Troyes, (Two works)

Villon, Poésies diverses, Testament.

Seizième siècle:

Oeuvres

Les Essais, Montaigne; (Livres II, III)

Les Oeuvres, Rabelais. (Livres I-IV)

Les Antiquitez de Rome, Les Regrets, du Bellay.

Les Amours, Les Discours, Ronsard.

Sélections d'anthologie: Marot, Scève, Belleau, Jodelle, du Bartas, d'Aubigné, Desportes.

L'Heptaméron, Marguerite de Navarre.

EtudesUne étude critique sur chacun des auteurs ~~signalés~~ signalés, e.g., dans la collection "Connaissance des Lettres."Une étude d'ensemble, telle que La Littérature de la Renaissance de V.-L. Saulnier dans la collection "Que sais-je?"

Dix-septième siècle:

Oeuvresde La Fontaine: Les FablesMme de La Fayette: La Princesse de ClèvesBoileau: L'Art poétiqueSévigné: Lettres (selections)La Bruyère: Les Caractères (sélections).Auteurs

Corneille

Molière

Molière

Pascal

Quatre ou cinq pièces de chacun des auteurs dramatiques, y compris au moins une comédie de Corneille, Les Provinciales (selections), et Les Pensées (selections).Une étude critique sur chacun des auteurs, e.g. dans les collections par lui-même (Editions du Seuil) ou Connaissance des Lettres (Hatier).

Histoire

Un livre sur l'histoire sociale, économique, et politique du dix-septième siècle en France, comme W. H. Lewis The Splendid Century ou John Lough An Introduction to Seventeenth Century France.

Dix-huitième siècleOeuvres

Ellows and Torrey: The Age of Enlightenment. (Appleton, Century, Crofts, Toutes les sélections).
 Marivaux: Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard.
 Abne Prévost: Manon Lescaut
 Voltaire: Contes et romans (Zadig, Micromégas, Candide, L'Ingénu)
 Diderot: Jacques le fataliste
 Rousseau: Les Confessions (Classiques Larousse)
 Beaumarchais: Le Mariage de Figaro
 Laclos: Les Liaisons dangereuses

Etudes

Une étude critique sur chacun des auteurs, e.g. dans les collections par lui-même (éditions du Seuil) ou Connaissance des lettres (Hatier).

Le dix-neuvième siècleRomanciers

Balzac: Le Père Goriot, Illusions perdues, Le Curé de Tours
 Flaubert: Madame Bovary, L'Education sentimentale, Un Coeur simple
 Stendhal: Le Rouge et le Noir, La Chartreuse de Parme
 Zola: Germinal

Etudes

Harry Levin, The Gates of Horn
 S. Rogers, Balzac
 V. Brombert, Ed., Stendhal, Twentieth-Century Views.

Poètes

Un choix de poèmes de Vigny, Hugo, Baudelaire, Verlaine, Rimbaud, Mallarmé. De convenables choix annotés se trouvent dans Grant, French Poetry of the Nineteenth-Century ou dans la série des Classiques Larousse.

Pour les poètes difficiles (Rimbaud, Mallarmé) vous n'êtes tenu que de connaître bien quelques poèmes très importants tels que "L'Après-midi d'un faune" ou "Le Bateau ivre".

Vingtième siècle

Oeuvres

Gide. Les Caves du Vatican
Sartre. Les Mains sales
Malraux. La Condition humaine
Aragon. Les Yeux d'Elsa
S. de Beauvoir. Pour une morale de l'ambiguïté

Valéry. Charmes
Céline. Voyage au bout de la nuit
Duras. Moderato cantabile

My Ph.D. exam at C.U.

Twelve-hour written exam;
two-hour oral exam.

p. 1351 - about the exam

pp. 1352-53 - Reading list for
Ph.D. exam

1351
17 53

EXAMEN DE DOCTORAT EN LITTÉRATURE

La préparation de l'examen se concentrera sur un certain nombre de sujets, selon un programme qui pourra être modifié avec 6 mois de préavis au moins.

L'examen comportera une partie écrite et une partie orale, le programme d'études étant le même pour les deux parties. Les candidats ayant réussi aux épreuves écrites seront déclarés admissibles à l'oral. Il y aura deux sessions, l'une au début du semestre d'automne, l'autre au début du semestre de printemps. Les candidats devront s'inscrire au secrétariat, en mai pour la session d'octobre, en décembre pour la session de février.

Les épreuves écrites comporteront 3 explications et 3 compositions (une au moins en français). Elles dureront 12 heures et seront normalement réparties sur les deux premiers samedis après la rentrée des classes. Les compositions seront traitées le premier samedi de 9 à 13 h. et de 14 à 16 h., et les explications selon le même horaire le second samedi.

--La répartition des textes d'explication et des sujets de composition selon les périodes variera selon les sessions et ne sera pas annoncée.

Les résultats des épreuves écrites seront annoncés à la fin de la semaine qui suivra le second samedi. Les candidats seront avisés aussi promptement que possible (par téléphone, par exemple) des décisions des examinateurs. Les candidats déclarés admissibles passeront l'épreuve orale dans le courant de la semaine suivant cette annonce. L'épreuve orale sera en français; durée: 2 heures

September, 1969

September, 1969

EXAMEN DE DOCTORAT
PROGRAMME DES EPREUVES DE LITTERATURE

MOYEN AGE

TEXTS

Beginnings:

~~Sainte Eulalie~~
~~Saint Alexis~~ - get Hatcher's article

Epic:

~~La Chanson de Roland~~ - article in *ambros*
~~Cormont et Isembart~~ - *ambros*
~~Couronnement de Louis~~

Romance:

~~Romans d'Antiquité~~ (excerpts in Henry, Chrestomathie, Part V)
~~Yvain (Chrétien)~~ - article in *ambros*
~~Lancelot (Chrétien)~~
~~Le Roman de Tristan~~ (Bédier's reconstruction in Modern French)
~~Les Lais de Marie de France~~
~~Le Lai de l'Ombre de Jean Renard~~
~~Le Roman de la Rose~~ (Part I in Old French, Part II in Modern French or English)
~~La Mort le Roi Artu~~

Lyric:

~~Poètes et romanciers du Moyen Age~~ (Pléiade, pp. 825-1110)
~~Le Lais et Le Testament de François Villon~~

Theatre

~~Jeu d'Adam~~ - article in *ambros*
~~Jeu de Théophile de Rutebeuf~~ - *ambros*
~~Jeu de la Feuillée d'Adam de la Halle~~ CL
~~Pathelin~~ CL

Fabliaux and Related Texts:

~~Ten fabliaux from the collections of Reid or Johnston and Owen~~
~~Les Quinze joies de mariage~~ (CL)
~~La Petit Jean de Saintre d'Antoine de la Salle~~ - *pedagogues novel*
~~Ten selections from Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles~~ (CL) *love story*
~~Branch II of the Roman de Renart~~ *ambros*

CRITICAL WORKS

7/8 1529 → A. Gunn, The Mirror of Love: A Reinterpretation of the Romance of the
997 Rose. (Lubbock [Texas], 1952)
E. Auerbach. Mimesis (New York, 1957).

September, 1969

MOYEN AGE (continued)

CRITICAL WORKS

- Ernst Curtius. European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (New York, 1953)
 Charles H. Haskins. The Renaissance of the 12th Century (New York, 1957)
 Jean Seznec. La Survivance des dieux antiques (especially Book I)
 A History of old French literature
 J. Huizinga. The Waning of the Middle Ages (New York, 1954).
 Dorothy Bethurum, ed. Critical Approaches to Medieval Literature (New York, 1960). [English Institute Papers, 1958-1959]
 C. S. Lewis. The Discarded Image (Oxford, 1964).

XVI^e SIECLE

1. Rabelais
2. Marot
3. Du Bellay (surtout Antiquités, Regrets)
4. Montaigne (surtout Livres II et III)
5. D'Aubigné

XVII^e SIECLE

1. La Tradition moraliste
2. La poésie avant 1660
3. Corneille
4. Les Pensées de Pascal
5. La Fontaine

XVIII^e SIECLE

1. Le roman de Lesage à Bernardin de Saint-Pierre
2. Voltaire: Lettres philosophiques
3. Diderot: Oeuvres philosophiques (ed. Garnier)
4. Rousseau: Les Discours - Les Confessions
5. Théâtre de Beaumarchais

XIX^e SIECLE

1. Stendhal
2. Baudelaire
3. Realism and naturalism
4. Musset: Théâtre; Gautier: Comédie de la mort
5. Rimbaud: Illuminations; Verlaine: Jadis et naguère; Mallarmé: Un coup de dés

XX^e SIECLE

1. Apollinaire, Alcools
2. Le Théâtre de Giraudoux
3. Sartre, Situations I, II, III
4. Roman et anti-roman de 1945 à 1962

Roger Lantier:
 "Style des
 lumières"

1354

The exam

Examen de doctorat en littérature

septembre 1969

Second Samedi: 3 explications.

Samedi matin: 9 - 13

'Allas,' fet il, 'queil destinee
M'amenat en ceste cuntree? *lana*
Pur ceste dame que ai *vele*
M'est un' anguisse al quor ferue *show angust in my heart*

5 Que tut le cors me fet trembler.

Jeo quit que mei l'estuet amer; *I have to love her*E si jo l'aim, jeo ferai mal: *If I love her I would do evil*

Ceo est la femme al seneschal.

I should have been
Garder li dei amur e fei,

Si cum jeo voil k'il face a mei.

Si par nul engin le saveit,

Bien sai que mut l'en pesereit. *It would weigh on him*Mes ne purquant pis iert asez *It would be a pity if such a*Que pur li seié afolez. *beautiful woman didn't*

15 Si bele dame tant mar fust,

S'ele n'amast u dru eust!

Que devendreit sa curteisie,

S'ele n'amast de druerie? *It would be a pity if such a*

Suz ciel n'ad hume, s'ele amast,

20 Ki durement n'en amendast.

Li seneschal, si l'ot cunter,

Ne l'en deit mie trop peser;

Sul ne la peot il nient tenir:

Certes jeo voilod li partir.

I. Translate the first eighteen lines of the passage.

II. Comment on the phonological development of 2 of the following forms:

1. 6 quit (< cōgīto)

1. 7 fei (< fīdem)

1. 7 aim (< amo)

Account for the ultimate disappearance of the verb form iert (1.13).III. The preceding passage is from Equitan. In writing your explication include the following:

a. place the speech in context

b. explain its significance to the "lais"

c. comment on the relevance of the passage to the treatment of love in the entire collection

d. discuss its relevance to a consideration of love in mediaeval terms.

Be sure to cite specific lines in support of your essay and pay close attention to the development of thought in the meditation.

we enjoy

Examen de doctorat

septembre 1969

Second Samedi: 3 explications:

Samedi matin: 9 - 13.

jour de vrai vs jour de soleil
funeste nuage vs aube avec son
teint brunet
orné de fleurs de
Paradis.

Voici venir le jour, jour que les destinées
Voyaient, à bas sourcils, glisser de deux années,

Le jour marqué de noir, le terme des appas,
Qui voulut être nuit, et tourner sur ses pas:

Jour qui avec horreur parmi les jours se conte,
Qui se marque de rouge et rougit de sa honte,

L'aube se veut lever, aube qui eut jadis
Son teint brunet orné de fleurs de Paradis,

Quand, par son treillis d'or la rose cramoisie
Éclatait, on disait: "Voici ou vent, ou pluie,"
Cette aube que la mort vient armer et coiffer
D'étincellants brasiers ou de tisons d'enfer,

Pour ne démentir point son funeste visage,
Fit ses vents de soupire, et de sang son orage,
Elle tire en tremblant du monde le rideau:

Et le soleil, voyant le spectacle nouveau,
A regret éleva son pâle front des ondes

Transi de se mirer en nos larmes profondes,
D'y baigner ses rayons, oui, le pâle soleil

Prêta non le flambeau, mais la torche de l'oeil:
Encor, pour n'y montrer le beau de son visage,
Tira le voile en l'air d'un louché épais nuage.

23)

D'Aubigné, Les Tragiques

1. Les images.

2. Autres procédés de style.

3. Les thèmes.

Emotional
Rational

style follows content
which follows history
which is vibrant.

→ alexandrine beauty +
chappy.

pro démentir point
remettre dans
jugement.

l'aube
wanta
brise

the end of suffering

transition down vs
judgment down

3;
3;

end of the world.

Rab soleil vs judgment
day

\$500 ATT Theatre de l'abandon
(detenue → humanity)
never really given
Examen de doctorat en littérature

5 1357

anti-intellectual
feels not
understand
Second Samedi: 3 explications.
Samedi après-midi: 14 - 16.

the early 19th century
the whole
of a divine
figure enters the
gods.

Words are
symbols

20e siècle:

Crime - Volontaire
faute - involontaire

Incohérence du langage

sleeping along down
then bells.

Ce n'est pas par des crimes qu'un peuple se met en situation fautive avec son destin, mais par des fautes. Son armée est forte, sa caisse abondante, ses poètes en plein fonctionnement. Mais un jour, on ne sait pourquoi, du fait que ses citoyens coupent méchamment les arbres, que son prince enlève vilainement une femme, que ses enfants adoptent une mauvaise turbulence, il est perdu. Les nations, comme les hommes, meurent d'imperceptibles (grandes) impoliteases. C'est à leur façon d'éternuer ou d'écarter leurs talons que se reconnaissent les peuples condamnés... Vous avez sans doute mal enlevé (came off) Hélène...

est
possible
to do such
a thing

Ulysse, dans La Guerre de Troie n'aura
pas lieu, (acte II, scène 13)

separate them

- Traduire en anglais, à partir de "C'est à leur façon d'éternuer..." jusqu'à la fin.
- Situer le passage. — all hope is lost — Pallas — Keep them together — Aphrodite — rubens — determine
- Sur la base de la signification ordinaire du mot "destin", montrer les incohérences du texte, en particulier la contradiction latente dans l'expression "se mettre en situation fautive avec son destin". — form more than content.
- Ulysse comme rhéteur (construction et remplissage des phrases).
- Ulysse comme esthète (sa conception de l'histoire).

literary
figures
be
common;
present
elegance

Maître du
langage

déterminisme
all hope is lost —
menace
not free. — if all is lost
then all is gone
the situation / cause
if all is determined

faute esthétique —
Ulysse uses literary
language.

Ulysse avec
Hélène barbare
Hélène barbare
all is lost
"You have come here off
bodily"

Examen de doctorat

Samedi 7, matin:

Moyen-Age:

1. According to Gunn's thesis, what is the relationship between the first and second parts of the Roman de la Rose? In what respect was this a significant change from previous criticism?
2. You are about to undertake an intensive study of the Chanson de Roland in a course in Old French literature which you are teaching. How will you proceed? Discuss problems to be treated, critical approaches, bibliography, topics for term papers, etc.

XVIIe siècle:

1. Résumez avec une certaine précision les bases de la théologie pascalienne.
2. Malherbe, poète et théoricien.

Examen de doctorat

Mardi 10, matin:

XVIIIe siècle:

1. La méthode de Jean-Jacques Rousseau dans le Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité.
2. Le vice et la vertu dans trois romans de votre choix (au moins deux auteurs différents).

XXe siècle:

1. Si, par "roman," on entend, à la base, un récit d'événements fictifs chronologiquement ordonnés, quels ouvrages, étiquetés "nouveaux romans" ou "anti-romans" par la critique, et publiés depuis 1945, avez-vous lus, qui ne sont pas des romans. En quoi?
2. Le métalangage (langage portant sur le langage) dans le théâtre de Giraudoux. Donner des exemples. En quoi cet aspect contribue-t-il à caractériser ce théâtre?

Examen de doctorat

Samedi 7, après-midi:

XVI^e siècle:

(b) Les autres forment l'homme; je le recite et en représente un particulier mal formé, et lequel, si j'avoy a façonner de nouveau, je ferois vraiment bien autre qu'il n'est. Mes-huy c'est fait. Or les traits de ma peinture ne forvoyent point, quoy qu'ils se changent et diversifient. Le monde n'est qu'une branloire perenne. Toutes choses y branlent sans cesse: la terre, les rochers du Ca, les pyramides d'Aegypte, et du branle public et du leur. La constance mes autre chose qu'un branle plus languissant. Je ne puis asseurer mon object. trouble et chancelant, d'une yvresse naturelle. Je le prens en ce point, est, en l'instant que je m'amuse à luy. Je ne peints pas l'estre. Je peins passage: non un passage d'age en autre, ou, comme dict le peuple, de sept en sept ans, mais de jour en jour, de minute en minute. Il faut accommoder mon histoire à l'heure. Je pourray tantost changer, non de fortune seulement, mais aussi d'intention. C'est un contrerolle de divers et muables accidens et d'imaginations irresolues et, quand il y eschet, contraires; soit que je sois autre moyesme, soit que je saisisse les subjects par autres circonstances et considerations. Tant y a que je me contredits bien à l'aventure, mais la vérité, comme disoit Demades¹, je ne la contredy point. Si mon ame pouvoit prendre pied, je ne m'essaierois pas, je me resoudrois; elle est tousjours en apprentissage et en espreuve. Je propose une vie basse et sans lustre, c'est tout un. On attache aussi bien toute la philosophie morale à une vie populaire et privée que à une vie de plus riche estoffe; chaque homme porte la forme entiere de l'humaine condition.

(c) Les auteurs se communiquent au peuple par quelque marque particuliere et estrangere; moy, le premier, par mon estre universel, comme Michel de Montaigne, non comme grammairien, ou poëte, ou jurisconsulte. Si le monde se plaint de quoy je parle trop de moy, je me plains de quoy il ne pense seulement pas à soy.

Du Repentir

- 1) Selon Plutarque, Vie de Démosthène, III. Démade disait "qu'il avait pu souvent se contredire lui-même, mais jamais l'intérêt public."

Expliquez cet extrait des Essais. Prenez les questions ci-dessous pour guides.

1. De quel livre des Essais ce passage est-il tiré?
2. Indiquez et commentez le thème général de cet essai.
3. Expliquez:
 - = (b), (c)
 - = " Or les traits de ma peinture ne forvoyent point".
 - = " et du branle public et du leur".
 - = " un contrerolle de divers et muables accidens et d'imaginations irresolues"
 - = " je propose une vie basse et sans lustre"
 - = " se communiquent au peuple par quelque marque particuliere et estrangere"
4. Commentez les passages soulignés.
5. Dans la dernière phrase Montaigne semble prévoir la réaction de la critique. Peut-on absoudre Montaigne de l'accusation d'égoïsme?

Examen de doctorat

Mardi 10, après-midi:

XIXe siècle:

Sonnet boiteux

Ah! vraiment c'est triste, ah! vraiment ça finit trop mal.
Il n'est pas permis d'être à ce point infortuné.
Ah! vraiment c'est trop la mort du naïf animal
Qui voit tout son sang couler sous son regard fané.

Londres fume et crie, O quelle ville de la Bible!
Le gaz flambe et nage et les enseignes sont vermeilles.
Et les maisons dans leur ratatinement terrible
Epouvantent comme un sénat de petites vieilles.

Tout l'affreux passé saute, piaule, miaule et glapit
Dans le brouillard rose et jaune et sale des sohos
Avec des indeeds et des all rights et des haôa.

Non vraiment c'est trop un martyr sans espérance,
Non vraiment cela finit trop mal, vraiment c'est triste:
O le feu du ciel sur cette ville de la Bible! —

--Verlaine

Nota bene. Soho: quartier mi-bohémien, mi-étranger de Londres;
haôa: sans doute une transcription de Oh, prononcé à l'anglaise.

Commenter:

1. le vers
2. les rimes
3. l'allusion à la Bible
4. l'arrière-fond autobiographique
5. la structure du sonnet et la disposition des images



Indiana University

Office of the Registrar

To Whom It May Concern:

This is to certify that S. Robert Powell
received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, French
from this University August 31, 1974

Warren W. Shuck
Registrar, Indiana University

Indiana University

Graduate School

To all who may read these letters, Greeting:
hereby it is certified that upon the recommendation of the Faculty,
the Trustees of Indiana University have conferred upon

S. Robert Howell

the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

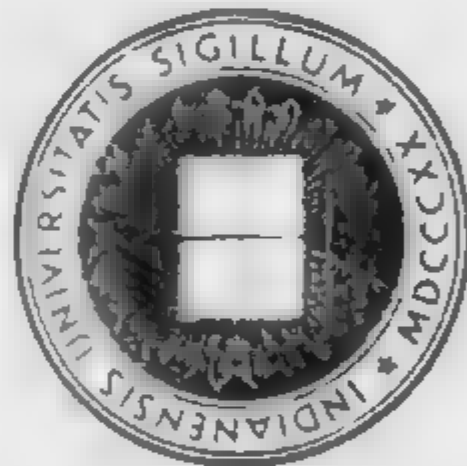
in recognition of the fulfillment of the requirements for this degree.

In Witness Whereof, this diploma is given at

Bloomington, Indiana, August 31, 1974.

Harry C. Yarnaguchi
Dean

Attest:
S. R. Howell
Secretary of the Trustees



James E. Carter
President
James E. Carter
Chancellor

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS

Given on the following 12 pages are some papers that I located in my résumé file last night (03-25-99). I have decided to include them here.

1364 Letter from Professor Frey to me, dated January 18, 1991. I wrote to him to get a letter of recommendation as part of a job search undertaken in 1991. I studied under Professor Frey at George Washington University. No other professor—no other person, for that matter—has ever had such a strong impact on my intellectual development and perspective. He changed my life. I shall forever be indebted to him. He opened doors for me that I didn't even know existed.

1365 Professor Frey's recommendation, January 25, 1990. In it, he states:

"... I was proud to direct his AM thesis on Zola and Impressionism, enough so to include part of his analysis in my book on Zola. Participating in the Zola symposium at Georgetown just three years ago made me realize how pioneering Powell's work was at the MA level. He has an extraordinary control of the relationship between the visual arts and literature. . . "

1366 Recommendation from Senator Robert J. Mellow, January 29, 1990

1367 SRP's appointment as Visiting Assistant Professor of French at Susquehanna University, December 20, 1990

1368 SRP's professional certificate to teach French in the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, issued August 1984

1369 SRP's certificate of qualification to teach French in the state of New York, effective 02-01-1990

1370-1371 SRP's résumé from the period when he taught at the Worthington Scranton campus of Penn State; also at Luzerne County Community College

12-1374 SRP's résumé during the ICS years

1375 Another SRP résumé (on one page) from the ICS years



DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES & LITERATURES

Friday, January 18, 1991

Dear Robert,

I received your letter this morning. It is always good to hear from you, but especially good this time with the wonderful news of your appointment at Susquehanna University. Your schedule sounds interesting, and I know that you are willing and eager to tell your students something about the nineteenth-century in France. Good luck with the application for the tenure track position.

Here things go along as usual. After suspending our graduate program (our initiative) in order to rewrite it we are ready to reopen in the fall of 1991, with a new orientation towards what the French call the Human Sciences. I think it will be quite an innovative graduate program.

There are many new faculty faces, most of the people you knew are either dead or somewhere else. Can you imagine that I am now senior professor in this department. My schedule is not too interesting this term, a fourth semester language course, graduate French reading course (French 49) and a course in textual analysis.

But I should be grateful that I am out of the chair. I ran the department from 1983-1989, and managed to write a book on Victor Hugo at the same time.

I am now awaiting word from the National Endowment for the Humanities. I have applied for a grant which would allow me to take a year sabbatical in order to complete a project on Renan.

Best wishes for the New Year 1991, and should you ever come down to Washington please look me up. I live at the same place, 225 9th St. S.E. on Capitol Hill and my phone is (202) 547-2780.

Sincerely,

1365

REFERENCE

Candidate's Name

Last Powell First S. Middle RobertMailing Address: Street R. D. 1, Box 48E City Union DaleState PA Zip 18470 Social Security 198-34-0586"I hereby request that Dr. John A. Frey write a letter of reference on my behalf to support my application for employment within the field of Education."

Under the provisions of the Family Education Rights & Privacy Act (must check one),

☒ I have retained my right of access to this letter, OR☐ I have waived my right of access to this letter.Candidate's Signature Robert Powell Date 1-22-1990

It has been a long time since I have been in contact with S. Robert Powell, but I still remember him as a very superior student. I was proud to direct his AM thesis on Zola and Impressionism, enough so to include part of his analysis in my book on Zola. Participating in the Zola symposium at Georgetown just three years ago made me realize how pioneering Powell's work was at the MA level. He has an extraordinary control of the relationship between the visual arts and literature. In fact, his work was so good that when he went to Indiana to do his Ph.D. Indiana awarded him Ph.D. credit for his G.W.U. M.A. thesis, which in those days was most unusual. As I read his up-to-date C.V. I see that he continued to build in his dissertation on the relationship of the arts and literature, especially for the 19th century. I further see that he has a broad range of cultural interests, which is certainly a plus in so far as the field of Romance studies is fashioning itself today.

I am one of his old professors, and I am honored that he would even think to ask me for a recommendation. I feel that I have had some part in his intellectual formation, and I am proud to see what he has done. He finished his Ph.D. at a moment in our field where there were very few job opportunities which I think must explain a certain absence from the field for a certain period of years. That generation should not be penalized for the economic situation that then existed. Now the market is wide open, and I would hope that Colgate will be able to see the value of this scholar. He is well formed, his French is excellent. I observed him teach when he was one of our GTA's. He was excellent; he stayed in French, he was optimistic and encouraging to his students, and he got good results.

As a person I still remember him as a well-balanced personality, a person easy to get along with, possessed of a great sense of humour. Although he worked mainly with Zola for me, I also remember his fine work in a seminar I gave on Diderot's novels. I recommend him strongly to you.

To the Author:

Please type your comments and return this form directly to The Pennsylvania State University, Career Development and Placement Center, 408 Bouckle Building, University Park, PA 16802. Do not return this form to the applicant.

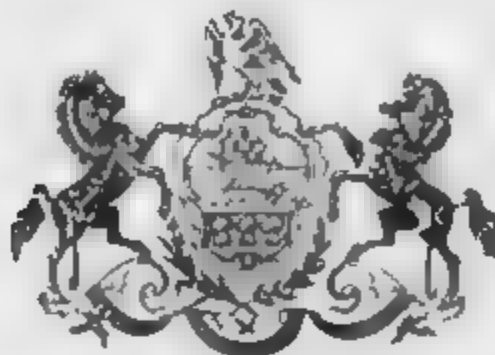
Signed John A. Frey Address Romance Languages and LiteraturesPrint Name John A. Frey The George Washington UniversityPosition Professor of Romance Langs. Lits. Phone 202-994-6975 Date January 25, 1990

Democratic Floor Leader

32ND DISTRICT
ROBERT J. MELLOW
SENATE POST OFFICE
THE STATE CAPITOL
HARRISBURG, PA 17120-0030

540 MAIN STREET
PECKVILLE, PA 18452

SCRANTON LIFE BUILDING
SCRANTON, PA 18503



COMMITTEES

RULES AND EXECUTIVE NOMINATIONS,
MINORITY CHAIRMAN
FINANCE

Senate of Pennsylvania

January 29, 1990

To Whom It May Concern:

It is with sincere pleasure that I take this opportunity to write on behalf of and recommend for your consideration, S. Robert Powell, R. D. #1, Box 48E, Uniondale, PA 18470.

I have known Mr. Powell for many years and faithfully attest to his character and integrity. He is a conscientious and hard working individual who constantly strives for nothing but perfection.

As you will notice from his most impressive resumé, Bob has shown a long and proven history of academic excellence and practical experience. I find him to be a self-motivated individual, capable of taking charge and excelling in whatever he undertakes.

I am confident of his abilities and believe that he has the skills and mental determination to do a quality job. It is my firm conviction that he would prove himself to be a tremendous asset and I wholeheartedly recommend him, with no reservations.

Thank you for allowing me the opportunity to write on behalf of Mr. Powell, and any consideration given him is greatly appreciated. In the meantime, should you have any further questions, feel free to contact me.

Sincerely,

Robert J. Mellow
Democratic Floor Leader

RJM/et

Enclosure

1367

SUSQUEHANNA UNIVERSITY

SELINGROVE, PENNSYLVANIA 17870

December 20, 1990

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Dr. S. Robert Powell
R. D. 1, Box 48E
Union Dale, Pennsylvania 18470

Dear Dr. Powell:

Upon the recommendation of Dr. Jack Kolbert, Head of the Department of Modern Languages, Dr. Donald Housley, Dean of the School of Arts and Sciences, and Dr. Jeanne Neff, Vice President for Academic Affairs, I am pleased to offer you appointment as Visiting Assistant Professor of French. This temporary, non-tenurable appointment covers full-time service from January 16, 1991, through the University's Commencement in May of 1991.

Your salary will be \$14,500 to be paid in biweekly installments. In addition, for 1990-91, your compensation will include a \$250 cafeteria fringe benefit to be applied toward the cost of Blue Cross-Blue Shield family health insurance coverage or added to your income. The University will also reimburse you in the amount of \$300 for expenses incurred in your move to Selinsgrove.

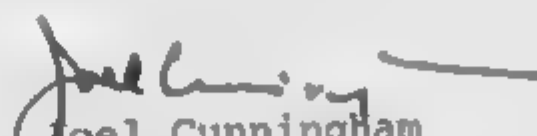
Statements of faculty responsibilities, conditions of employment, and faculty fringe benefits are included in the copy of the Faculty Handbook dated October 1987, mailed to you under separate cover.

Should you have any questions regarding any aspect of your appointment, please feel free to contact Dr. Kolbert, Dr. Housley, or Dr. Neff.

In order to confirm your acceptance of this appointment, please sign and return the enclosed carbon copy of this letter as soon as possible. I am enclosing a Form W-4 which should be completed and returned with the signed copy of this letter. Also enclosed is a Form I-9. Please contact Ms. Elandina Lecce, Director of Human Resources, Extension 4157, regarding an appointment to complete this form. This process may be completed at your convenience, but no later than the close of business the third day following the beginning of your appointment.

I am pleased that you are joining our faculty and look forward to working with you as a colleague.

Sincerely yours,


Joel Cunningham
President

JC/dkm
In duplicate
Enclosures

cc: Mr. Aungst, Dr. Housley, Dr. Kolbert, Dr. Neff, Ms. Lecce, Jamie Rogers

DATE

SIGNATURE

Commonwealth of Pennsylvania



Professional Certificate

This certificate entitles
SILAS R POWELL

to practice the "art of teaching" and render professional service in the
endorsement areas hereon in the schools of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

Type Code	Years Valid	Date Issued	Area of Certification	Type Code	Years Valid	Date Issued	Area of Certification
61	06	08/84	FRENCH				*****
			*****				*****
T C	01 Emergency	23 Vocational III	31 Educational Specialist I	40 Standard	80 Professional	70 Permanent Standard	82 Supervisory II
V O	02 Limited Special	25 Exam Temp Standard	32 Educational Specialist II	45 Normal Candidate	81 Instructional I	71 Exam B1 Standard Level	83 Administrative I
P D	10 Partial	26 Coordinator I	33 Educational Specialist III	50 Intern	82 Instructional II	75 Permanent Equivalent	84 Administrative II
E E	21 Vocational I	27 Coordinator II	34 Vocational Intern	55 Intern	83 Instructional III	80 Permanent	85 Master's Equivalent
	22 Vocational II	30 State Standard Limited		60 Professional Equivalent	84 Norms Diploma	81 Supervisory I	86 Program Specialist
							87 Endorsery

80 COMPETENCY AREA REGISTRATION IN CONJUNCTION WITH VOCATIONAL INSTRUCTION
82 WAIVER OF CERTIFICATION GRANTED FOR ONE CALENDAR YEAR ONLY

198-34-586 55 84-013355

Authorized by the Secretary of Education

DE-16 87 482

1368

The University of the State of New York
THE STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
Division of Teacher Education and Certification
Cultural Education Center
Albany, New York 12230

1369

CERTIFICATE OF QUALIFICATION

This Certificate of Qualification is valid for five years from its effective date and is evidence the person identified hereon is eligible for a provisional certificate in the area noted. The person so named will be issued that certificate upon surrender of this Certificate of Qualification at any time during its period of validity.

S. ROBERT POWELL
R.D.# 1, BOX 48E
UNION DALE

PA 184700000

Certificate Number: 198340586
Control Number: 308328901

Effective Date: 02/01/90

Fields: FRENCH 7-12

Comments

1. The Certificate of Qualification during its period of validity may be presented as evidence the holder is eligible for the provisional certificate and subsequent employment in schools of New York State wherein certification is required.

2. The provisional certificate may be obtained at any time the holder surrenders to the Teacher Certification Section the Certificate of Qualification during its period of validity providing Part A is completed by the certificate holder.

3. The provisional certificate must be obtained when the holder accepts a regular part-time or full-time position in the public schools of New York State. In such instance, the valid Certificate of Qualification must be submitted to the chief school officer of the employing school district who, upon completing Part B, will forward it to the Teacher Certification Section so that the provisional certificate can be forwarded to the employee.

4. The five-year validity of the provisional certificate will become effective upon its issuance. The holder must meet the requirements for permanent certification in effect at the time the provisional certificate is issued.

5. The Certificate of Qualification legalizes service as a substitute teacher and as a teaching assistant in the public schools in New York State except in the cities of New York City and Buffalo.

A. I herewith request the issuance of my provisional certificate with an effective date of September 1, 19 ☐ or February 1, 19 ☐ (Check one)

(Signature) (Date)

(Number/Street)

(City/State) (ZIP code)

B. The Board of Education has employed _____
(Holder of Certificate of Qualification)

_____ as a teacher of/in the field of
(Address)

_____ effective _____
(Subject) (Date)

_____ (Date)
(Chief School Officer)

Dr. S. Robert Powell
 College of Liberal Arts
 The Pennsylvania State University
 120 Ridge View Drive
 Dunmore, PA 18512

Office: 717-963-4756

Home: 717-282-5197

EDUCATION:

- 1961 Diploma, Fell Township High School, Simpson, PA
 June 8, 1961
- 1961-1965 Bachelor of Arts in Education (French major)
 Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA
 June 12, 1965
- 1965-1967 Master of Arts in French
 George Washington University, Washington, DC
 September 13, 1967
- 1967-1974 Doctor of Philosophy in French Literature
 Indiana University, Bloomington, IN
 August 31, 1974

Major fields: Nineteenth-century novel, medieval
 literature

Minor fields: Phonology, fine arts

Ph.D. Dissertation title: THE RENAISSANCE AND CUBIST
 CONCEPTIONS OF SPACE AND ART IN THE NINETEENTH-
 CENTURY FRENCH NOVEL (published in 1974)

Member, Pi Delta Phi, National French Honor Society

Member, Phi Sigma Iota, National Foreign Language Honor Society

Travel: Numerous trips to France and Western Europe.

EXPERIENCE:

Teacher:

- 1965-1967 Graduate Teaching Assistant in French
 George Washington University, Washington, DC
- 1967-1970 Teaching Assistant in French
 Indiana University, Bloomington, IN
- 1970-1971 Assistant Professor of French
 State University of New York at Oswego, NY
- 1973-1974 Adjunct Lecturer in Modern Languages
 Brooklyn College of the City University of New York
- 1990-1991 Visiting Assistant Professor of French
 Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove, PA
- Currently Adjunct faculty, College of Liberal Arts
 Pennsylvania State University, Dunmore, PA

Editor:

1971 Publications Assistant, UNICEF, United Nations, NY

1972 Editor: Rights, Permissions and Reviews
American Management Associations, NY

1973-1975 Editor: Multimedia, American Management Associations, NY

1976-1978 Editor: Multimedia, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., NY

1983 Staff Writer, The Carbondale News, Carbondale, PA

Investment Banking:

1979-1980 Blyth Eastman Paine Webber, Inc., New York

1980-1983 Salomon Brothers Inc, New York

PUBLICATIONS:

- author of three books in the field of comparative aesthetics, including COMPARATIVE AESTHETICS: A WORKBOOK, which was published in 1978;
- author of over 100 articles in the field of local history and genealogy;
- created, together with Donald W. Powell, NORTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA, the historical quarterly about the eleven counties of northeastern Pennsylvania; thirteen issues of this historical quarterly were published in the period 1979-1982.

REFERENCES:

Dr. Jack Kolbert, Chair
Department of Modern Languages
Susquehanna University
Selinsgrove, PA 17870

Phone: 717-372-4257

Dr. Donald D. Housley
Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences
Susquehanna University
Selinsgrove, PA 17870

Phone: 717-374-4734

Dr. John A. Frey, Chairman
Department of Romance Languages
and Literatures
George Washington University
T-513, Academic Center, 801 22nd St., NW
Washington, DC 20052

Phone: 202-994-6330

S. Robert Powell

Product Development , ICS Learning Systems, 925 Oak Street, Scranton,
PA 18515. Office: 717-342-7701, ext. 283. Home: 717-282-5197

EDUCATION:

1961 Diploma, Fell Township High School, Simpson, PA
June 8, 1961

1961-1965 Bachelor of Arts in Education (French major)
Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA
June 12, 1965
Professional Certificate, Instructional I, French,
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

1965-1967 Master of Arts in French
George Washington University, Washington, DC
September 13, 1967

1967-1974 Doctor of Philosophy in French Literature
Indiana University, Bloomington, IN
August 31, 1974

Major fields: nineteenth-century novel, medieval literature
Minor fields: phonology, fine arts

Ph.D Dissertation title: *The Renaissance and Cubist
Conceptions of Space and Art in the Nineteenth-Century
French Novel* (published in 1974)

Member: Pi Delta Phi, National French Honor Society
Member: Phi Sigma Iota, National Foreign Language Honor
Society

Travel: Numerous trips to France and Western Europe

EXPERIENCE:Teacher:

- 1965-1967 Graduate Teaching Assistant in French
George Washington University, Washington, DC
- 1967-1970 Teaching Assistant in French
Indiana University, Bloomington, IN
- 1970-1971 Assistant Professor of French
State University of New York, College at Oswego, NY
- 1973-1974 Adjunct Lecturer in Modern Languages
Brooklyn College of the City University of New York
- 1990-1991 Visiting Assistant Professor of French
Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove, PA
- 1992-1995 Adjunct faculty (humanities, philosophy)
College of Liberal Arts
Pennsylvania State University, Dunmore, PA

Editor:

- 1971 Publications Assistant, UNICEF, United Nations, NY
- 1972 Rights, Permissions, and Reviews Editor
American Management Associations, NY
- 1973-1975 Multimedia Editor, American Management Associations, NY
- 1976-1978 Multimedia Editor, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., NY
- 1983 Staff Writer, *Carbondale News*, Carbondale, PA
- 1995-- Editor, Product Development
ICS Learning Systems, Scranton, PA

Investment Banking:

1979-1980 Blyth Eastman Paine Webber, Inc., NY

1980-1983 Salomon Brothers Inc., NY

PUBLICATIONS:

- author of three books in the field of comparative aesthetics, including *Comparative Aesthetics: A Workbook*, which was published in 1978
- author of over 100 published articles in the field of local history and genealogy
- author of over 100 published articles in the field of animal husbandry
- created, together with Donald W. Powell, NORTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA, the historical quarterly about the eleven counties of northeastern Pennsylvania; 13 issues of this historical quarterly were published in the period 1979-1982

REFERENCES:

Senator Robert J. Mellow
The State Capitol
Harrisburg, PA 17120-0030

Phone: 717-346-5721

Congressman Edward G. Staback
300 Betty Street
Eynon, PA 18403

Phone: 717-876-1111

Dr. Jack Kolbert, Chairman
Department of Modern Languages
Susquehanna University
Selinsgrove, PA 17870

Phone: 717-372-4257

Dr. K. Bruce Sherbine
Dean of Academic Affairs
Pennsylvania State University
Dunmore, PA 18512

Phone: 717-963-4756

S. Robert Powell

R. D. 1, Box 40, Carbondale, PA 18407-9706. 717-282-5197, srobertpowell@juno.com

CURRENT POSITION (since 1995)

Editor, Product Development, Harcourt Learning Direct, 925 Oak Street, Scranton, PA 18515. Office 717-342-7701, ext. 283. Lead editor in the following areas:
Professional landscaping, practical English and the command of words, literature, freelance writing, legal secretary, Internet business guide and webpage design, professional secretary, pet grooming, catering and gourmet cooking

EDUCATION

Ph.D. in French Literature, Indiana University
Major fields: nineteenth-century novel, medieval literature
Minor fields: phonology, fine arts
Ph.D. dissertation title: *The Renaissance and Cubist Conceptions of Space and Art in the Nineteenth-Century French Novel*
Member Pi Delta Phi, National French Honor Society
Phi Sigma Iota, National Foreign Language Honor Society

WORK HISTORY

Teacher (French language and literature, philosophy, humanities)

George Washington University, Washington, DC
Indiana University, Bloomington, IN
State University of New York, Oswego, NY
Susquehanna University, Selinsgrove, PA
Penn State University, Dunmore, PA

Editor

Harcourt Learning Direct, Scranton, PA (copy editor in product development)
American Management Associations, NYC (multimedia editor)
Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, NYC (multimedia editor)
several daily and weekly newspapers (staff writer)

Investment Banking

Blyth Eastman Paine Webber (corporate finance)
Salomon Brothers (corporate finance)

PUBLICATIONS

Author of over 200 published articles in the fields of animal husbandry, local history, and genealogy; author of two books in the field of comparative aesthetics; creator of NORTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA, the historical quarterly about the 11 counties of northeastern Pennsylvania

WHERE AND WHEN

Given on the following 17 pages is a listing of where I have lived and a summary outline of activities and events in my life, from 1943 (when I was born) to 1974 (when I was awarded my Ph.D. in French Literature from Indiana University).

It has taken me years to get this information organized. This chronology has proven to be a very useful organizational/structural frame.

1943 → 1958

12/12/1943 — 8/1961 — just down the
road from
the Russell
homestead

Home [Riverside Farm
R.O. 1
Carbondale, PA 18407

Boy Scout Camp: we attended this
camp for two
weeks for a
couple
summers

[Camp Hall
Fiddle Lake
c/o William Tinklepaugh
Thompson, PA.

1959

12/12/1943 — 8/1961

Home [Riverside Farm
R. D. 1
Carbondale, PA

a wooden sign
with the
name
on it
used to
hang
on the
cow
barn
(now
torn
down).

Boy Scout camp:

[Camp Hall
Fiddle Lake
c/o William Tinklebaugh
Thompson, PA.

1960

12/12/1943 — 8/1961

Home [Riverside Farm
R D. 1
Carbondale, PA

Boy Scout Camp:

[Camp Hall — Norton Vail
Fiddle Lake was the
scoutmaster
of Troop 2,
Carbondale.
c/o William Tinklebaugh
Thompson, PA

1961

12/12/1943 — 8/1961

[Riverside Farm
R.D. 1
Carbondale, PA

9/1961 — 12/1961

horrible
accommodations
to be sure

SRP was a
student at
Penn State
1961-1965

[Nittany Hall 29, Room 21.
Box 1218
Penn State University
University Park, PA

In December 1961, when DWP
and I came home from PSU
for term break, we moved
from Riverside Farm to the
Russell Homestead.

1962

1381

1/1962 — [Nittany Hall 29, Room 21
Box 1218
Penn State University
University Park, PA

by 2/10/1962 — 6/1962

[304 Holmes Hall
Box 281
Penn State University
University Park, PA

6/1962 — 12/1962

SRP was
home for
the Fall
quarter 1962;

[RDI, Russell Homestead
Carbondale, PA
took political science 10
by correspondence

1963

1/1963 — 6/1963

[604 Pollock Hall A
Penn State University
University Park, PA

1/18/1963 — invited to join AXA
2/18/1963 — received pledge pin

Summer 1963 —

[Russell Homestead
R.D. 1
Carbondale, PA

9/1963 — 12/1963 — AD7-2602

[Lambda Chi Alpha
351 East Fairmount Avenue
State College, PA

(ultimately became President
of Lambda Chi Alpha)

1964

1383

1/1964 - 12/1964

[Lambda Chi Alpha
351 East Farmount Avenue
State College, PA

Phone: AD7-2602

Summer School, 1964, PSU

(College and summer are
wonderful in the summer
and I attended summer
sessions whenever possible)

1965 - Fall 1965 - Summer 1967
student at GWU

1384

1/14/1965 - 3/1965 - student Teaching
(10 weeks)

[Wessahickon High School
Ambler, PA]

Residence: [Maple East Apts, A-6
213 Maple Avenue, Rt. 611
Horsham, PA.]

3/1965 - 6/1965 -

[Lambda Chi Alpha
351 East Fannount Avenue
State College, PA]

6/12/1965 - awarded Bachelor of
Arts, PSU

6/12/1965 - 12/31/1965 -

[6/1965 -
8/1967] → [The Channel House, apt. 505
824 New Hampshire Ave, NW
Washington, DC 20037
Phone: 333-0326]

1966

1/1966 — 12/1966 —

[The Channel House, apt. 505
824 New Hampshire Ave, NW
Washington, DC 20037]

7/23/66 — 8/30/1966 — first trip
[Dulles airport to only airport] to Europe

Before my departure for Europe,
I worked for two or three
months in the library of
the Department of Agriculture,
Washington, DC.

1967

1/1/1967 - 8/30/1967

[The Channel House, apt. 505
Washington, DC9/30/1967 - Master of Arts
George Washington Univ.8/30/1967 - Earl Noelte & I moved
out of The Channel
House. Earl then
lived at:I stored my
things and
lived with Earl
during summer
1967[1010 25th Street
Washington, DC 20037[2716 "O" Street, NW.
Washington, DC.

Fall 1967 - 12/31/1967

SRP had a room
in a rooming
house ✓SRP began as
a Ph.D. student
at Indiana
University[515 East First Street
Bloomington, IN 47401

1968

1/1968 — [515 East First Street
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

2/1/68 — Summer 1968

[510 East Cottage Grove, #2F
Bloomington, IN 47401

shared this apt. with a fellow-
graduate student, Michael
Harris.

8/1968 — 11/1968

[218 South Roosevelt
Bloomington, IN 47401

shared this house with Michael
Harris

11/1968 — 12/1968 —

[430 S. Dunn, #324
Bloomington, IN 47401

Phone 332-4559

shared apt. with C. Joel Block

1969

1/1969-12/1969

[430 South Dunn, #324
Bloomington, IN 47401

Studied for Ph.D. exam all
summer.

I was a teaching associate in
French at Indiana University
from the Fall 1967 to the
end of the summer session
1970, when I went to Europe
for a month before starting
my teaching at SUNY:
College at Oswego.

1970

1/1970 - 7/1970 -

[430 S. Dunn, #324
Bloomington, IN 47401

Joel moved back to Washington
and I got a room at:

[501 S. Highland, apt 11
Bloomington, IN 47401

8/10/1970 - 9/10/1970 - second trip
to Europe

9/1970 - SRP accepts position as
Assistant Professor of
French at SUNY: Oswego

taught
three
academic
year
1971-1972

→ [44 West 5th Street
Oswego, NY 13126

phone: 315-342-1550

1971

1/1971 — 6/1971 — [44 West 5th Street
Oswego, NY 13126

6/1971 — 8/1971 — [c/o Mrs. C. Kijp
P.O. Box 236
18 Albany Post
Road South
Hyde Park, NY
12538

SRP & Earl Noelte
did research for
their doctoral
dissertations

8/1971 — [336 Riverside Drive, #1B
to 12/1971 NYC, NY 10025

Shared apt. with C. Joel Block;
building burned during
Christmas season when
SRP was out of town.

— worked as Publication assistant at
UNICEF, United Nations, NYC

1972

1/1972 - 12/1972 -

[321 West 103rd St, #2B
NYC, NY 10025

phone 865-7498

June-July - August 1972: took over
Sheryl Gross's job as Rights,
Permissions and Reviews
Editor at AMA COM, NYC.

Fall 1972 - taught at Yeshiva
H.S. of Far Rockaway, NY;
also in Spring 1973; at
the same time I also
taught courses at
Brooklyn College: Spring 1973,
Fall 1973, Spring 1974

1973

1392

1/1973 - 6/1973 - [321 West 103rd St,
NYC, NY 10025 #2B

4/6/1973 - 4/23/1973 - third trip
visited DWP in London to Europe; for
(4/15 - 4/23) Earl Noelle's
wedding.
4-13-73

Summer 1973 -

SRP stayed in C. Joel Block's
apt. near Columbia University
when Joel & Jenny were in
Europe

8/1/1973 - 8/31/1975 -

SRP's apartment at:

[249 West 76th St, #4A
NYC, NY 10023

212-724-7090

1974

1/1974 - 12/1974 -

[249 West 76th St, #4A
NYC, NY 10023

8/31/1974 - SRP awarded Ph.D. in French
Literature from Indiana
University, Bloomington, ON #7401

(was able to collect unemployment insurance from the
Brooklyn College position, 1973-
1974)

1973-1975 - Editor, Multimedia
American Management
Associations, NYC

S. ROBERT POWELL

March 31, 1999

INDIVIDUAL RETIREMENT ACCOUNTS

Green Point Savings Bank (formerly Bowery Savings Bank): Retirement Services, P. O. Box 5470, New Hyde Park, NY 11040-5470, 1-800-55-PENSION.

IRA account # 01-47954802, total value as of 12-31-1996, \$21,653.74; as of 12/31/97, \$22,842.16 (+\$1,188.42 for 1997); as of 06-30-98, \$23,430.58; as of 12-31-98, \$24,038.47

- 1985, 1990, 1993 IRAs: #6517532567; expires 01-26-1999;
balance as of 01-26-99, \$10,729.97
Into DWR IRA (shows up in asset summary on 2/28/99 DWR statement)
- 1986, 1994 IRAs: #6517532575, expires 02-03-2003,
as of 12-31-98, \$6,828.09 @ 5.59/5.75%.
- 1987, 1992 IRAs: #6517532583, expires 02-24-1999,
balance as of 02-24-99, \$6,563.42
Into DWR IRA

Dean Witter Reynolds, IRA account #620--031766, total value as of 12-31-1996, \$10,580.42; as of 12-31-97, \$12,456.83; as of 12-31-98, as of 02-28-1999, \$25,775.21; \$30 maintenance fee paid, check 2327, 04-20-98

- 1988 IRA, European Growth Fund, as of 02-28-99, 359.117 shares at \$19.32 = \$6,938.14
- 1989 IRA, Capital Growth B Fund, as of 02-28-99, 364.183 shares at \$15.02 = \$5,470.02
- 1995 IRA, Japan Fund, as of 02-28-99, 104.945 shares at \$6.78 = \$711.52; American Value Fund, 56.925 shares at \$33.70 = \$1,918.37
- IRA money market funds, \$0.16 as of 12-31-98; \$10,737.16 as of 02-28-1999

PNC Bank, IRA account #55001928359

1991 IRA, renewed 03-13-97 for 60 months at 5.37% interest (APY 5.50%), expires 03-13-02, \$3,021.74 as of 02-10-99

Pioneer American Bank, IRA account #58559

1997 IRA, \$2,000, opened 03-25-98 for 3 years at 6.0% interest (APY 6.09%), expires 03-25-2001; DWP II primary beneficiary (SS# 163-68-1346); as of 03-25-99, \$2,121.80

ICS 401K RETIREMENT PLAN

ICS is a part of National Education Corporation, which is part of Harcourt General, Inc. On 09-06-1996, SRP arranged to have 15% of his pre-tax salary deposited in the National Education Corporation's Retirement Savings Plan. Harcourt matches the first 2% of SRP's salary that he contributes, dollar-for-dollar; from 3 to 6%, 25 cents on the dollar.

Main Fidelity number: 800-835-5095. 40% in Fidelity Contrafund; 20% in Fidelity Growth Company; 40% in Templeton Foreign.

Harcourt General, Inc. Employee Savings Plan PIN: 5515-86: ICS gross pay for 1997, \$25,555.98; for 1998, \$24,503.07 (lower than 97 because of the unpaid days off that I took in 98).

Deducted amount from each check (\$152.49); total for 1996, \$1,394.43); 1997 deductions: from SRP as of 12-31-97, \$4,046.60. Total account value as of 12-31-97: \$7,217.85; SRP contribution, as of 12-31-98: \$3,681.11. 1999 contribution as of 03-26-99, \$881.04. Total account value as of 03-11-99, \$14,306.62.

CERTIFICATES OF DEPOSIT

CD at National Bank of Olyphant, 1300 Wyoming Avenue, Scranton, PA 18509. 717-961-2402. Account number 29810-10364, opened March

13, 1998; \$10,000 at 5.70 % with APY of 5.82%, due March 13, 2003; as of 12-23-98, \$10,435.63.

CD at National Bank of Olyphant, 1300 Wyoming Avenue, Scranton, PA 18509. 717-961-2402. Account number 29810-10485; opened July 13, 1998, \$25,000 at 5.73% with APY of 5.85%, due 07-13-2003; as of 12-31-98, \$25,361.07.

CD at National Bank of Olyphant, 1300 Wyoming Avenue, Scranton, PA 18509. 717-961-2402. Account number 29810-10552; opened September 11, 1998, \$30,000 at 5.73% with APY of 5.85%, due 09-11-2003; as of 12-31-98, \$30,428.57.

MUTUAL FUNDS

Dean Witter Reynolds, 415 Spruce Street, Scranton; account executive, Thomas F. Conigliaro (961-7700); all certificates held by DWR; purchase papers in Safe Deposit Box 101 in Community Bank and Trust Company, Forest City.

On 06-30-1986, SRP purchased \$15,000 worth of mutual funds, including 263 shares of Dividend Growth at \$18.98 (15.4 billion in assets in this fund in January 98; 10-year return, 348.1%, 5-year return, 123.5, 25.7 return for 1997)

164 shares of High Yield at \$15.16

484.48 shares of Natural Resources at \$10.19

154 Shares of World Wide Investment Trust, Class B at \$16.13; this fund was acquired on 06-05-98 by DWP Global Dividend Growth Securities, Class B on 06-05-98; SRP now owns 460.770 shares of Global Dividend Growth Securities.

On 03-12-1999, 116.394 shares, @ \$12.40 per share, of Capital Appreciation Fund, Class B acquired by American Value Fund, Class B (see below).

Value as of 12-31-96, \$41,155.99; as of 12-31-1997, \$48,226.88; as of 06-30-98, \$51,892.03; as of 09-30-98, \$45,722.59; as of 12-31-98, \$49,920.86.

DG-B, 428.466 shares @ \$61.36 = \$26,290.67

NR-B, 1,013.723 shares @ \$10.66 = \$10,806.28
 American Value Fund, 40.829 shares @ \$35.35 = \$1,443.29
 Global DG-B, 476.15 shares @ \$13.20 = \$6,285.27
 HY-D, 875.923 shares @ \$5.87 = \$5,141.66
 Liq. As., 40.23 shares @ \$1.00 = \$40.23

STOCKS

WAL-MART

SRP owns, as of 03-30-99, 162.073 shares of Wal-Mart stock @ \$95.00 per share = \$15,396.93; stock certificates held by First Chicago Trust, Post Office Box 3596, Church Street Station, NY, NY 10008-3596; stock information, 800-438-6278. (This stock split just before I started working at Wal-Mart and started to buy Wal-Mart stock. On 02-25-93, it split when it was selling at \$64.909. On 04-19-99, this stock will split again. In March 1994, I bought 79.217 shares at \$25; on April 4, 1994, I bought 70.326 shares at \$25.59; on 07-22-1994, I had 160.5 shares, valued at \$4112)

HARCOURT GENERAL, INC.

As a benefit from the company, at no cost to the employee, SRP acquired 2.6035 shares of Harcourt General, Inc. common stock in the period 11-01-97—10-31-98; valued at \$46.2415 per share on 10-31-98, or \$120.39.

BONDS

SRP owns Series EE Savings Bonds. Original maturity for Series EE bonds is 17 years from issue date, final maturity is 30 after issue date. Donald W. Powell II (SS# 163-68-1346) is the named beneficiary and will become the sole owner of all these bonds at the death of SRP. These bonds are all in SRP's safe deposit box in Forest City.

<u>Bond Number</u>	<u>Issue Date</u>	<u>Value at Original Maturity</u>
C523056394EE	06-25-95	\$100 bond
C529904486EE	07-07-95	\$100 bond
C530513117EE	07-20-95	\$100 bond
C532170208EE	08-03-95	\$100 bond

C535312197EE	08-23-95	\$100 bond
C535613455EE	08-31-95	\$100 bond
M66127582EE	08-21-95	\$1,000 bond
M63163482EE	09-29-95	\$1,000 bond
C540729860EE	10-18-95	\$100 bond
C540729859EE	10-18-95	\$100 bond
C540729858EE	10-18-95	\$100 bond
C540729857EE	10-18-95	\$100 bond
M63946354EE	10-18-95	\$1,000 bond

CHECKING ACCOUNT

PNC Bank, account #920-111-717-7, \$6,000 (more or less)

INSURANCE

LIFE INSURANCE

Whole-life policy, face amount \$10,000. Policy number 73283, issued 05-10-1974; policy class, standard; premium period, 35 years. DWP I (SS# 198-34-0580) named sole and primary beneficiary on 09-12-1985. This savings bank life insurance policy was taken out when SRP had an account with the Bowery Savings Bank, 42nd Street and Lexington Avenue, NYC, NY. (The Bowery was later called "Home Savings Bank of America" and then "Greenpoint Bank"). The bank's address for life insurance purposes is: Greenpoint Bank, Life Insurance Department, 466 Central Avenue, Cedarhurst, NY 11516; also: 466 Central Avenue, Cedarhurst, NY 11516. The annual premium on this policy is \$168.80, payable on May 10th. The policy is in Safe Deposit Box 101, Community Bank and Trust Company, Forest City, PA. Paid \$168.80 (SRP check #2325) on 04-17-1998; interest income for 1997, \$85.91. As of 4-17-98: current dividend, \$139.40; interest on accumulations, \$92.46; total accumulations, \$3,313.89. To get the cash value of the policy, phone 212-268-4217. Cash value as of 03-17-98, \$7,408.00.

LIFE AND HEALTH INSURANCE

North American Company for Life and Health Insurance of New York, Post Office Box 73616, Rochester, NY 14673-3616. Policy #16-S87242, taken out on 11-14-1956, when SRP was 12. Annual premium \$7.50. The policy series is 0501. Service Office: North American Company for Life and Health Insurance, 6 International Drive, Rye Brook, NY 10573. Phone: 800-775-2254 Mailing address: North American Company for Life and Health Insurance, Church Street Station, Post Office Box 6834, NYC, NY 10249-6834. Policy in Safe Deposit Box 101, Community Bank and Trust Company, Forest City, PA. Paid \$7.50 (SRP check #2381) on 11-02-1998 for 12 months insurance.

AD&D INSURANCE (accidental death and dismemberment insurance)

Five separate policies, total value: \$115,500.00

(A) All American Insurance Company, policy 920-111-717-7, certificate G-906-6000221; policy in Forest City safe deposit box; \$50,000 of insurance, \$5 monthly premium deducted from SRP's PNC checking account #920-111-717-7; policy taken out 04-01-1988.

(B) Continental Casualty Company (CNA), policy 18-113-952, certificate 920-1DDZDZZ; policy in Forest City safe deposit box; \$21,000 of insurance, \$6.60 per quarter deducted from SRP's PNC account #920-111-717-7; policy taken out 10-10-1990. PNC pays for the first \$1,000 and SRP pays the \$6.60 quarterly for the additional \$20,000. CNA Plan Administrator: 800-252-2148 weekdays and ask for the "Insurance Desk."

(C) Continental Casualty, policy 18-113-952, certificate 412-8002091MSZAMZ, policy in safe deposit box in Forest City; \$21,000 of insurance, \$6.60 per quarter charged to SRP's Citibank Visa account. Visa pays for the first \$1,000 and SRP pays the \$6.60 quarterly for the additional \$20,000; policy taken out on 02-01-1994.

(D) Continental Casualty, policy 18-113-952, certificate 412-800-2091MSZAMZ, policy in safe deposit box in Forest City, \$1,000 of AD&D insurance paid for by Citibank Visa; policy taken out on 09-01-1996.

(E) ICS Learning Systems provides an AD&D policy on SRP that is one times his current salary (\$22,500+ as of 03/1996).

AUTO INSURANCE

Colonial Penn Franklin Insurance Agency, Post Office Box 1995, Valley Forge, PA 19482-1995. Company Code No. 20796. Policy number: 558372851. Effective 12/12/98, expiration 12/12/99. Chevrolet S-10 Truck. VIN: 1GCCS14R7P8117575. Paid \$534.30 on 12-01-98, check #2396, for period 12-12-98--12-12-99. (\$11.90 refunded as overpayment on 12/11/98)

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

Drawn up by SRP in 1987 through Attorney Larry Moran, Scranton, PA, who has a copy in his files. DWP I also has a copy and there is a copy at my desk and one in Safe Deposit Box 101 in Community Bank and Trust Company in Forest City, PA. Attorney Moran's phone number is 717-348-0200.

SAFE DEPOSIT BOXES

Box 1036, Pioneer American Bank, Carbondale, PA. Box shared with HLRP and DWP I; box opened on 12-05-1986 at \$100 per year.

Box 101, Community Bank and Trust Company, Forest City, PA. DWP was authorized to enter this box on 06-21-1990. This box is under the name of "Elkdale Cemetery Association, S. Robert Powell." The original Elkdale Cemetery book is stored in this box as are many personal papers that belong to SRP. The box was opened on 02-16-1990 and is paid for on a yearly basis (\$50) by the Elkdale Cemetery Association.

End of:

**Personal Papers, 1943-1970, of S. Robert Powell,
Carbondale (Lackawanna County), PA**